

5-2019

# Plantations, Planning & Patterns: An Analysis of Landscapes of Surveillance on Rice Plantations in the Ace Basin, SC, 1800-1867

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PLANTATIONS, PLANNING & PATTERNS: AN ANALYSIS OF LANDSCAPES OF  
SURVEILLANCE ON RICE PLANTATIONS  
IN THE ACE BASIN, SC,  
1800-1867

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Graduate School of  
Clemson University

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Science  
Historic Preservation

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by  
Sada Stewart  
May 2019

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Accepted by:  
Dr. Carter Hudgins, Committee Chair  
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Lauren Northup

## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores patterns of the rice plantation landscape of the ACE River Basin in South Carolina during the period of 1800-1860 to assess how planters surveilled enslaved workers. The research consisted of a cartographic study of historic plats of nineteen rice plantations, a sample of the ninety-one plantations that covered the region during the height of rice production in South Carolina. For each of the plantations, the next level of analysis was viewshed and line of sight studies after 3D Sketch-Up models were created from each the plat. These studies yielded maps that support analysis of how planters arranged plantations to optimize surveillance, as planters imposed spatial configuration based on proximity and communication. In a system controlled by the few, the plantation owners, who wielded complete power over many, the enslaved, there was a sharp inequity in the number of enslaved Africans to the number of overseers on every rice plantation. How did this system remain viable from the standpoint of power and control? How did constant surveillance, or its threat, from the overseers over the enslaved workers manifest itself in configurations of the physical environment into a control mechanism? What are common patterns to layouts and configurations (of plantations) that are derived to allow white overseers to surveil enslaved workers in order to maintain control as a minority party on a rice plantation? Reconstructed viewsheds indicate that plantation layout had distinct layout patterns in terms of settlement proximity to plantation house, orientation of structures in the settlement and presence of clear lines of sight from the plantation house to the settlement. However, overall visibility potential by

the planter was significantly lower than predicted. On average, rice planters could only see between 35% and 65% of the structures on their plantation from their houses.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The many hours of work poured into this thesis would not have been possible without the support of a veritable army.

Dr. Carter Hudgins—thank you for your tireless eyes and weekly meetings that helped bring my mess of ideas into a paper with actual structure. Without your calm confidence in contrast to my panicked anxiety, I could not have written this thesis.

Amalia Leifeste, Dr. Barry Stiefel and Lauren Northup—thank you for keeping me on track and allowing me to send you countless drafts that slowly started to make sense. This could not have taken shape without the guidance you all afforded me.

The staff of Historic Charleston Foundation—you all played a role in igniting my interest in the ACE Basin, particularly the rice plantations. Thank you for showing me Jehossee Island and opening my eyes to the countless cultural resources sitting untouched in the former rice fields.

My family—Thank you for letting me call, at all hours of the day and night to talk through my thoughts, conclusions and tangents, very few of which made sense. Your love and support helped me every day.

My classmates, MSHP Class of 2019—thank you for making this process (almost) fun to go through, and for being an amazing support system.

Preston and Griffey—thank you for everything, you are my heroes!

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Winding roads through rural South Carolina that lead drivers to their destination also expose them to the living history of rice plantations in the regions. One such road is south of Charleston, where Route 17 turns into the ACE Basin Parkway. Meandering through wetlands and ecosystems that host waterfowl, alligators, and other marshy creatures, the roads take on the role of narrator for a story that is told entirely through the landscape.

On a recent trip to Savannah, driving these roads with former rice fields on both sides, someone asked about the marshes that surrounded us. These lands are now habitats, hiking grounds, boating channels, hunting reserves and so much more—but no longer rice fields. The identity that defined the region has been lost to time, and the landscape once integral to the character of the Lowcountry is now simply *marsh*.

A sunny day offers a striking view of the landscape. The sun glares off of the water in the channels, and the golden stalks glint and roll in a bright, breezy day. Cheerful, beachy, and sunny, it is easy to ignore or forget the horrors of slavery that once took place across thousands of acres of the now scenic land.

An overcast day imposes a sense of eeriness upon those aware of the history riddled in the rice fields. An uneasy feeling imposes as the fog rolling over the empty rice fields that it may give way to shadows of the past working the fields. Perhaps if the rain begins to fall the rhythmic splat of raindrops might lull a passenger into peacefulness. For

many, the anticipation of rain simply heightens the effect of the reflection on those lives lived and lost in the fields.

It is with the clarity of a sunny day, and the somberness of an overcast one that research about the landscape of rice plantations in the Ashepoo, Combahee and Edisto River Basin (ACE Basin) must be undertaken. Enslaved workers lived and died in fields that are now the backdrop to a wildlife and conservation effort with the slogan, “The Last Great Place.” It is truly a great place, but one that deserves the interpretation as a place where rice cultivation thrived at the hands of many, under the watch of few, and for the benefit of even fewer.

Whether collectively or individually, rice planters considered whether there should be uniformity in methods of constructing the landscape of a rice plantation. The thought was that the uniformity in landscape would also strip the enslaved workers of agency, and enforce the presence of constant surveillance imposed upon the enslaved workers by the planters and overseers. Essentially, in a system inherently driven by the few (the white overseers and plantation owners) maintaining complete power over the many (the enslaved), there is a sharp inequity in the number of enslaved Africans to the number of overseers on every rice plantation.<sup>1</sup> How does this built environment sanction the surveillance of enslaved workers? At the most basic level, what are common patterns to layouts and configurations (of plantations) that are derived to allow white overseers to surveil enslaved workers in order to maintain control as a minority party on a rice

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<sup>1</sup> William Dusinger, *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2006).



plantation? This thesis will analyze how plantations in a close geographical region may relate to one another in their physical landscape and how this consciously derived physical layout contributed to surveillance. Further, it asserts that while plantations had patterns in the siting of settlements for enslaved workers' dwellings, surveillance was not the prime motivating factor in configuring a plantation.

Plantation houses, rice mills and other infrastructure of the rice harvesting dynasty of the nineteenth century still exist in the ACE Basin. There are many more elements that have been lost or altered over the course of the past 150 years. It is of the utmost importance to research this particular past, linked to a darker time in South Carolina's history. As Historic Charleston Foundation's Director of Museums, Lauren Northup alluded to, the architecture of enslaved workers in the Lowcountry is a powerful topic of study. However, there is so much lost physical fabric of this narrative left that it is now imperative to continue study of rice plantations in the region.<sup>2</sup> The architecture of rice plantations is emblematic of a system of control that defined the Lowcountry for many years. The history of the surveillance, management and landscape of rice plantation slavery is vital to understanding the history of the ACE Basin, and the Lowcountry as a whole. It is a narrative that needs to be told and analyzed in order to interpret the full story of the now-empty rice fields surrounding the scenic roads of "The Last Great Place."

Today, the ACE Basin is a seemingly peaceful swath of protected land for ecological and cultural resources. Prior centuries of inhabitation of the region were

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<sup>2</sup> Lauren Northup, Instagram Post, January 30, 2019.

fraught with hard labor and harsh treatment. In a social and economic system inherently dependent on hierarchy, the landscape of rice plantations reflected the motivations of the planters to instill fear and subordination in their workforce. Antebellum agricultural journals contained essays on management of enslaved workers, planters and overseers seemed to have overt understanding, and predominant agreement, of the significance of maintaining control of the workforce. Therefore, strict rules on housing, health, clothing and extracurricular activities existed for plantations. These societal expectations of control were as in depth as dictating the appropriate amount of cloth to supply for clothing, the correct height to raise houses off of the ground and where and when to allow church services.<sup>3</sup> These methods of control worked to maintain the status quo societal system, where the enslaved workers' depended on the white planters for nearly all necessities of life. However, there is also explanation of the layout of the plantations in the architecture and configuration of buildings.

Lowcountry rice plantations were unique, the less well-studied sisters of the plantation landscapes of other American plantation cultures. While South Carolina supported a large percentage of the enslaved population throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, rice plantations have not yet been the subject of an independent landscape analysis. Valuable and telling research has yielded broad analyses of plantation landscapes, but those are conducted regionally, and South Carolina, particularly rice plantations, have yet to be the subject of these studies.

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<sup>3</sup> James O. Breeden, *Advice among Masters: The Ideal in Slave Management in the Old South* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 122-123, 150.

Though slavery was both an urban and rural phenomenon, this thesis looks to explore the idea that plantations, were often configured similarly to one another. How do these intentional placements of structures, fields and harvesting areas speak to the surveillance of the enslaved workers by the white overseers and owners? Plantation studies are a significant part of American historiography. Specifically, studies of the inter- and intra-workings of antebellum Southern plantations analyze how slavery could have pervaded a societal, political and economic structure so fully, as it did in the Old South. These concepts have been researched, reconfigured and reconsidered frequently. There is, however, much room for further study of the built environment and the interpretations of agency and racialization, as described by Rebecca Ginsburg and Clifton Ellis in *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*.<sup>4</sup> Spatial analyses of plantation landscapes have infrequently been considered as a stand-alone analytical tools that may be reclaimed to interpret power dynamics of white and black occupation of space on rice plantations. This thesis fills that void of literature by addressing rice plantations in South Carolina, analyzing the built environment and interpreting the resulting viewsheds of visibility that enabled antebellum rice planters to claim surveillance over their vast landholdings and enslaved workers.

The scholarly literature of surveillance and management on plantations in antebellum America has focused on plantations in Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, or the Caribbean. There were few asides representative of rice plantations, and

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<sup>4</sup> Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg (eds.), *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 9-13.

a significant portion of the studies based findings on one single case study. From this standpoint, it is not only true that “surviving structures of enslaved workers are misleading because they represent potential anomalies in scale and material, as most do not survive because they were weakly constructed, secondary structures in a landscape oriented towards plantation houses.”<sup>5</sup> It is also true that the surviving antebellum literature and current scholarly studies fail to address inclusivity of studies based on physical plantation architectural studies.

There are questions that persist in plantation studies that may never be answered due to the lack of remaining physical evidence, and the lack of firsthand accounts from enslaved workers available. Some of these questions were presented by archeologist Garrett Fesler in his work, and include:

Did the master’s opulent brick house on the hill cause them to submit quietly to their bondage? Did the proximity of the overseer quell any urges they had to run away? Did the fences lining the road subtly remind them that their master portioned his land as he saw fit and that they were powerless to change that?<sup>6</sup>

However, while these may not be answered directly, plantation studies are able to work towards the answers through spatial analysis of the landscape.

Rice plantations, specifically, are the subject of study in this thesis because they present the opportunity to study the built environment on a large scale operation. Not only did rice plantations become a fixture on the broad landscape of tidal river basins in

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<sup>5</sup> Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," In Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, 122-123.

<sup>6</sup> Garrett Fesler, “Excavating the Spaces and Interpreting the Places of Enslaved Africans and Their Descendants,” In Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, 29.

South Carolina, but each plantation was independently large scale because of the high demand for vast workforces on each landholding. These conditions offered a pre-existing sampling of comparable plantations for landscape analysis.

However, before exploring the built environment of South Carolina's economic anchor, the rice plantation, it is important to understand the cultural background of the cultivation and establishment of rice as a critical southern export. South Carolina has one of the deepest ties to use of enslaved workers in the country, and crafted that identity by utilizing slave labor to work on each of the numerous plantations in the state. As John Drayton wrote in *A View of South Carolina*, that the two most important goals for a South Carolina planter was to grow crop to sell and grow crop to eat.<sup>7</sup> Of those crops for sale, rice, played a significant role in the South Carolina economy.<sup>8</sup>

The pre-Revolutionary planters situated plantations and rice fields in rural places, along inland swamps. Planters used land along inland rivers and bodies of water, rather than salt marshes along the coast. Moving the operation to the coast required a huge increase in labor force to make tidal cultivation profitable. Planters realized, however, that plantations had been limited in size and therefore in potential profit. In the wake of the American Revolution, the indigo trade became a minimal market. The wrath of battle destroyed inland rice plantations, forcing many planters to begin their planting ventures from scratch. Then, the potential profit of Lowcountry rice cultivation was too alluring to pass up.

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<sup>7</sup> John Drayton, *A View of South Carolina* in Walter Edgar, *South Carolina A History* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 265.

<sup>8</sup> James Henry Hammond (4 March 1858), in Edgar, *South Carolina A History*, 265.

Men such as the Heywards had been early adopters of the tidal plantation style, and “produced twelve hundred to fifteen hundred pounds of rice per acre with the new method as opposed to the six hundred to one thousand pounds by the old one.”<sup>9</sup> It is for good reason that coastal Carolina was known as the Rice Kingdom—along the entire coast of the state, and for thirty to forty miles inland along tidal rivers, plantations took over the landscape.<sup>10</sup> The best rivers for rice cultivation, the Santee, Waccamaw, Black, Great Pee Dee, Little Pee Dee, Edisto, Ashepoo, Combahee, and Savannah Rivers, and were a delicate balance of salt and freshwater.<sup>11</sup>

As planters moved their operations from inland to the coast, it became clear that the operation needed to change from their inland agricultural practices to account for the geographical variances. It changed South Carolina not only agriculturally, but politically, economically, ecologically and culturally. One of the largest changes during the move to the coast was the fact that tidal rice plantations demanded wide swaths of land. This land needed access to the aforementioned tidal rivers, and was “based...on a fragile hydraulic system that depended on a vast [slave] labor force to keep in order.”<sup>12</sup>

Much of the rice planting culture in South Carolina can be traced back to Barbadian plantation culture that was brought to the American colony in the seventeenth century. Experienced planters, Barbadian planters brought with them plantation

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<sup>9</sup> Edgar, *South Carolina A History*, 266.

<sup>10</sup> Edgar, *South Carolina A History*, 267; Richard Dwight Porcher Jr. and William Robert. Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice: An Illustrated History of Innovations in the Lowcountry Rice Kingdom* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> Also listed are the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, though were more minimally considered. Edgar, *South Carolina A History*, 267.

<sup>12</sup> Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 290.

knowledge, enslaved workers, and a type of task system. All of these factors combined in an effort to grow many exotic crops—none of which survived in the Carolina winter.

There was a turn to tobacco, though the economy could not compete with the established Mid-Atlantic tobacco plantation system. Finally, in the late 1600s, South Carolina found success predominantly in crops for self-sufficiency, and ultimately rice became a crop of interest due to the high potential for profitability. Using the sugarcane cultivating experience from Barbados, the cultivation skills of the enslaved workers that came with the planters from the island and the large holdings of land still available in the region, rice was a desirable crop.<sup>13</sup>

The most valuable elements to the process of rice cultivation are ample land and a large labor force. However, the use of the task system, which formalized in the Lowcountry over the course of the eighteenth century, also played an important role in the development of rice culture. Rice cultivation depended on land near a reliable water source, typically a river, being divided into grids that would promote constant irrigation. Under the task system, a task was a unit of measure in which a quarter of an acre represented the amount of work needed to be completed for that area.<sup>14</sup> Each enslaved worker was given a job to complete, and once that job was finished for their task of land, the enslaved worker was done for the period of time. For example, an enslaved worker may have been assigned to plant rice in their set ‘task’ land, and was given one day to

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<sup>13</sup> Suzanne Cameron Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE Basin-1860*, (Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995), Introduction.; Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 34-36.

<sup>14</sup> Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 37.

complete that planting. If that worker completed planting the entire task before the end of the day, he or she was free to tend to their own garden or interests.<sup>15</sup>

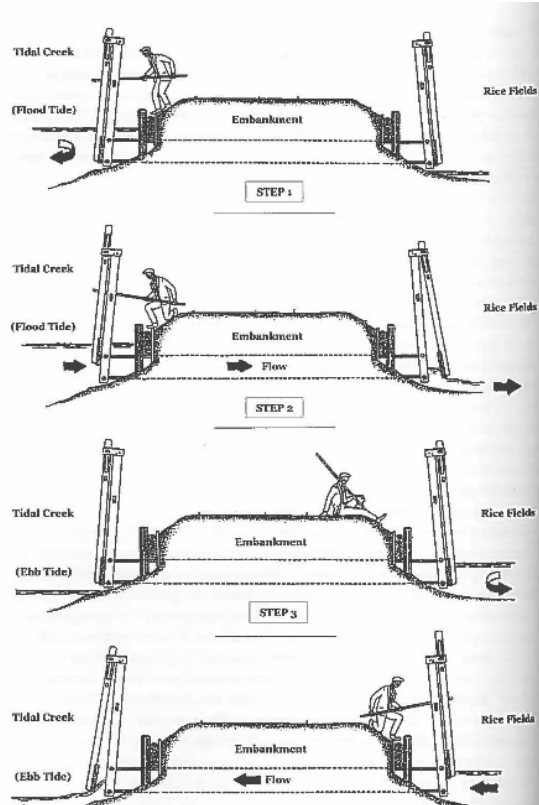


Figure 1: Rice trunk operation as a diagram. Drawn by William Robert Judd, found in *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 74.

Initially, these tasks addressed rice culture when reservoirs were the means of irrigation, as direct water control using dams, canals, and trunks was more reliable for large-scale planting than waiting for rain. Rice trunks (Figure 1) have been found on many rice plantations in South Carolina, and acted as methods of stopping and directing water flow to rice fields. Through many innovations

of the technology, there were plug trunks, lift-gate trunks, lever-gate

trunks and swing-gate trunks, all of which increased the level of sophistication by which the water was directed to the fields.<sup>16</sup> Water was directed through canals dug by enslaved workers, and would irrigate the rice fields under the supervision of the same workers.

The antebellum ACE Basin rice plantations used in this study demonstrate a later evolution of rice cultivation in which planters moved away from the less reliable

<sup>15</sup> Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, Introduction.; Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 41-45.



reservoir rice culture, to tidal rice culture. Freshwater rivers would flow to the coast, meeting in tidal swamps or marshes that could host rice plantations and be manipulated into the same canals that reservoirs once sourced; the tidal water sources came naturally and more reliably.<sup>17</sup>

Harvesting the rice was also labor-intensive, and the most grueling process of rice cultivation. About a week before the harvest, the water flow had to be limited to the fields to allow them to dry enough for enslaved workers to be able to access the rice. Then the harvest had to occur quickly to prevent losing the crop to over ripening. Once the fields could be accessed, enslaved workers used sickles to remove the ear-bearing portion of the rice stalk, collect the harvest, and allow it to dry for about a day. The harvest would be collected either by carts or female enslaved workers, and taken to a barnyard to dry enough for the rice to be threshed. Threshing was the “removal of the grain from the stalks of the plants.”<sup>18</sup> Though this was a mechanized process by the mid-nineteenth century, there is little consensus as to which method was most predominantly used in the Lowcountry. It is likely that the manual process of enslaved workers using a flail was common. They would beat the stalks, shake the rice from the stalks, and then winnow the rice to remove the chaff, or shell.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the rice would be milled to remove the inedible part of the rice from the edible part. In reservoir rice planting, a mortar and pestle could accomplish this task, though tidal rice had a larger harvest that could not be milled quickly enough with a mortar and pestle. Therefore, more efficient rice mills were

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<sup>17</sup> Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 57.

<sup>18</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, Introduction.; Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 105-111.

<sup>19</sup> Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 111-113.

developed to quickly and efficiently clean the rice—sometimes these mills were on the plantation, and sometimes the rice was sent off property to a separately owned rice mill.<sup>20</sup>

In truth, many factors contributed to the reign of rice as a prominent crop in South Carolina in the antebellum era, and it is conservationist Richard Porcher Jr. who best summarizes this:

The Golden Age was characterized by factors that separated it from the pre-Revolutionary period: the final conversion of swamp to tidal fields, codification of the task system, the end of the legal slave trade in 1808, the mechanization of threshing and milling, and the expansion of manufacturing in the cities.<sup>21</sup>

Plantation rice production captivated the agrarian interests of the top percentile of planters in South Carolina, and comprised much of the history and culture of plantation life in the region. However, this also means the arm of influence from the rice planters was powerful. Rice planters “represented one of the greatest concentrations of wealth and social privilege in the antebellum South.”<sup>22</sup> It is prudent, then, to look at this stronghold of social influence, in terms of the impact they had on the physical landscape. Further, it is necessary to analyze the landscape of rice plantations, with particular attention how the planter enforces surveillance of enslaved workers with the intentional layout of the plantation. This analysis will contribute to the field of plantation studies, while adding depth in the realm of landscape analysis and study of slave management. While this has been done in areas of the Caribbean and Indonesia, as well as on specifically selected

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<sup>20</sup> Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina*, 153-154.

<sup>21</sup> Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina*, 293.

<sup>22</sup> Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina*, 297.

American plantations in the Mid-Atlantic and Upper South, visibility analysis to inform viewsheds and sightlines offers deeper evaluation of the intentionality in built environments. This could benefit the greater understanding of slave management and surveillance. Doing a regional study of plantation landscapes, rather than isolated studies, offers insight into the communication between planters, and could signify pattern in plantation built environment.

## CHAPTER TWO METHODOLOGY

This thesis applies cartographic and viewshed analysis to look for evidence of surveillance on the built environments of nineteen plantations of the ACE Basin. In order to do that, the author developed a specific methodology that allowed for rational analysis of the patterns and landscapes that once covered the ACE Basin of South Carolina. The general framework for the methodology was that the author initially began to conduct a general survey of the ACE Basin region, in the period 1800-1865, to identify all rice plantations of the area. Research revealed that a team of scholars already conducted a complete survey of the region, and a catalogue of plantations already exists in a *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, compiled by historian Suzanne Cameron Linder. Extensive cartographic research, both visual and software aided, formed the next layer of analysis. Then interpretation of the results, concurrent with historical analysis of records of slave management theories of the antebellum era, was conducted in the written analysis of the thesis.

### **Data Summary**

The ACE Basin is a region in South Carolina where the Ashepoo, Combahee, and Edisto River basins merge, and ultimately drain into the Atlantic Ocean. The land is a protected area with boundaries based on projects and conservation efforts. There are ten areas of protected land that encompass thousands of acres, including an estuarine research reserve, a national wildlife refuge, two wildlife management area, a heritage preserve, two interpretive centers, two state parks and a land sanctuary (Figure 2). The

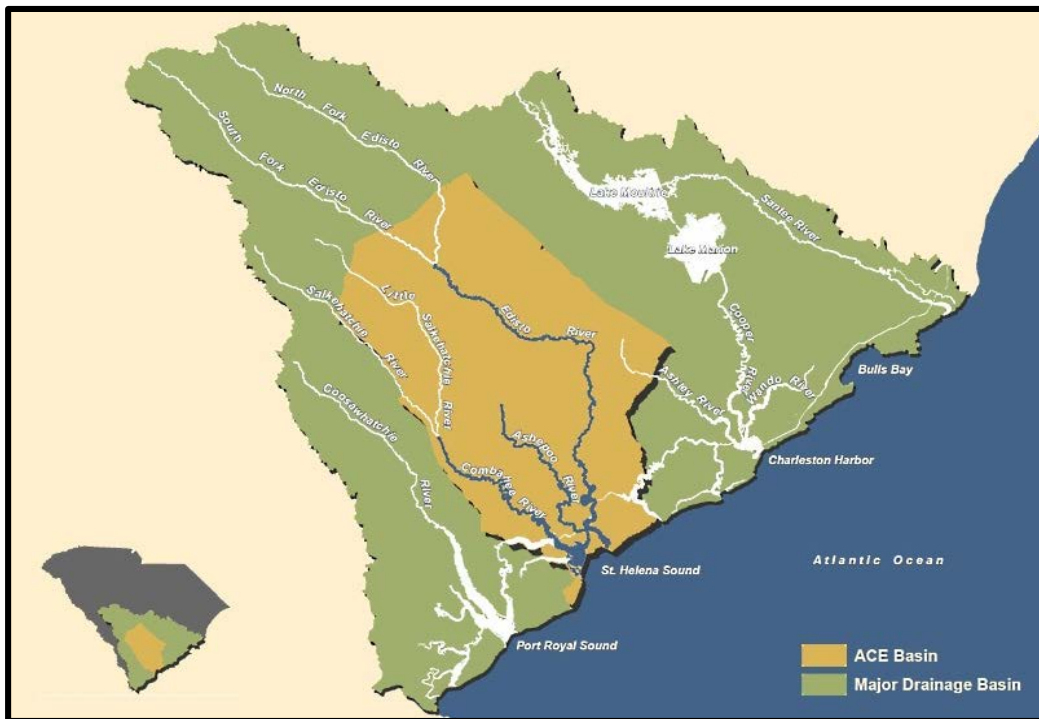


Figure 2: Map of the Ashepoo, Combahee, and Edisto River Basin. "25th Anniversary of the ACE Basin." ACE Basin - Ashepoo, Combahee, Edisto Basin. 2016. Accessed November 03, 2018. <http://www.acebasin.net/timeline/index.html>.

ACE Basin occupies land in Charleston, Colleton, and Beaufort counties. It is bounded by Highway 17, the Edisto River, Highway 21, the Coosaw River, and the Atlantic Ocean (Figure 2).<sup>23</sup> Rice plantations along the rivers were numerous, and typically of significant size.

Significant for its ecological, archaeological and historical resources, much of the marsh land in the ACE Basin is now managed as natural land.<sup>24</sup> The privately owned plantations, however, are a different story:

<sup>23</sup> Pete Laurie and Dean Harrigal (eds.), *The ACE Basin Project* (Charleston, South Carolina Department of Natural Resources, May 2009), <http://media.islandpacket.com/static/news/ace/drivingace.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> "Characterization of the Ashepoo-Combahee-Edisto (ACE) Basin, South Carolina," SCDNR - ACE Basin Characterization, (2015, Accessed October 23, 2018), <http://www.dnr.sc.gov/marine/mrri/acechar/history.html>.

Many of the large plantations that once supplied the mills with timber were converted to hunting preserves. The abandoned rice fields and logged forests attracted a rich abundance of game animals, including migratory waterfowl and deer to the area. The interest in hunting led to the evolution of sophisticated wildlife management techniques that help to preserve the natural quality of the ACE Basin study area that we enjoy today.<sup>25</sup>

During transformation to hunting reserves, many of the primary and secondary structures on former plantations were removed, or have been moved, or otherwise altered. Those structures include the main houses, rice mills, slave cabins, slave hospitals, chapels, barns, sheds and other supporting buildings. The selection of the ACE Basin as the region of study is not intended to imply this region suffered more loss of integrity to historic rice plantations than another region. Conversely, it is appropriately reflective of the state of plantation landscapes in the south, many of which have suffered loss of original buildings. Moreover, the ACE Basin presents a preexisting bounded region that contains enough plantations to create a reasonable sample size for analysis.

The period of analysis for this survey, 1800-1867, coincides with the height of rice cultivation in South Carolina. Multiple sources such as historian Walter Edgar's *South Carolina A History* and Porcher's *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice: An Illustrated History of Innovations in the Lowcountry Rice Kingdom*, agree on start and end dates for the period of greatest significance for rice cultivation in the South. In this period, the shift from inland to coastal rice planting, and acquisition of vast labor force, created rapid expansion of the rice industry. The end bounding date coincides with the

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<sup>25</sup> "Characterization of the (ACE) Basin," SCDNR.

end of the Civil War and the early Reconstruction Era. The end of the war marked an end to the possibility of traditional methods of rice cultivation due to the poor southern economy, the emancipation of enslaved workers and the destruction of agricultural land, and this consequently led to a downturn in the production of the crop.

The nineteen plantations chosen for analysis were based on the availability of plats and the detail they provided with the placement of buildings on the land. Since the period of study consists of only sixty-seven years of the dynamic history of the ACE Basin, it was necessary to collect all plats that exist from that period. This has resulted in the collection of a database of nineteen plantation plats that fall within the scope of time and region for this research.

### **Data Collection**

The process of data collection consisted of gaining physical copies of the applicable plats of the given plantations. The first step was to identify the plantations for which there are plats or maps accessible, and of the relevant period of study, 1800-1865. Based on a survey of the ninety-one plantation plats, there are nineteen that will be used in this thesis' analytical study. To locate those, the aforementioned book, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin-1860* was referenced. A spreadsheet of information about each of the nineteen plantations in the thesis was compiled using that book, as well as nineteenth century census records and Slave Schedules.<sup>26</sup> Using Microsoft Excel, the following details were collected about each of the plantations in the region, and recorded in the spreadsheet:

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<sup>26</sup> See Appendix C

Plantation Name:

County:

Planter:

Date(s) Constructed:

Date of Plat:

Number of Enslaved Workers:

Acreage of Plantation:

Number of Structures on the property:

Plat Location:

Notes:

Collecting this information yielded identifying features for the plantations. In order to ensure reasonable comparisons and analytics were being undertaken, it was necessary to create rational mechanisms of comparison. For example, a plantation with 300 acres should not necessarily be directly compared to, or grouped with, a plantation of 3000 acres; just as a plantation with 70 enslaved workers should not be directly compared to, or grouped with, a plantation with 700 enslaved workers. Therefore, this database of details about each plantation will ultimately be used as a sorting mechanism in the early stages of analysis. Ultimately, in order to move on to the analysis, the plantations must be individually, visually assessed for potential patterns and geographic significances. The primary data that was used for analysis was the number and location of structures on each plantation to determine how those relate to one another within one plantation, and how the layout relates to the other plantations in the region.



## Data Analysis

### *ArcGIS Line of Sight Analysis*

The original intent was to have multiple stages of analysis using the plats of the ACE Basin plantations. Initially the author used ArcGIS, “geographic information system (GIS) is a computer-based tool that links geographic information (where things are) with descriptive information (that things are).”<sup>27</sup> Using the ArcGIS georeferencing feature, on ArcMap, the author scaled the plats on top of a modern topographic basemap in order to ensure all of the plats were scaled accurately in reference to geographic layout.

Therefore, to georeference maps in GIS means to overlay historic data over a modern map that give accurate scale to the historic plat. To georeference, the first step is to save the historic map in a folder that is linked to ArcMap, then place the image into the view frame, consisting of a modern map view of the same region. Control points (or points of reference from one map to the other), will provide spatial accuracy for the scaling of the map.<sup>28</sup>

### *ArcGIS Viewshed Analysis*

The next step of analysis was to be viewshed analysis, once again using ArcGIS. Viewshed is “the portion of the land surface that is visible from one or more viewpoints.”<sup>29</sup> Put more simply, viewshed consists of an entire 360 degree view from a

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<sup>27</sup> Laurel Bartlett, “Introduction to GIS Fundamentals,” (Digital Documentation, Clemson CCCD. Fall 2018).

<sup>28</sup> Sada Stewart, “GIS Technical Process Sheet,” (Digital Tools for Historic Preservation, Prof. Amalia Leifeste. September 26, 2018).

<sup>29</sup> Zhi Wang, "Chapter 14. Viewsheds and Watersheds," (Lecture, California State University, Fresno, Fresno, CA), <http://www.fresnostate.edu/csm/ees/documents/facstaff/wang/gis200/lecture-notes/gis/chap14.pdf>.

single location, and what may be seen (unobstructed) from that point. In order to complete this, the first step was to import the scaled historic plat into ArcMap. Next, the Viewshed analysis tool was applied. To complete this, it was important to make sure the historic and topographic layers were turned on. Finally, the Study Area, the entire land base of the plantation, was turned on. The author then chose the Perform Analysis function, selected Find Locations, and lastly, specified Create Viewshed. It directed the user to choose the height of observer locations, which is “the height of the objects that will be observed.”<sup>30</sup> In this study, that was representative of the structures. The next step was to set the height of the person observing the landscape, so an average human height was utilized.<sup>31</sup> After these selections, the software ran the analysis, and a map was produced that showed both visible and not visible areas.<sup>32</sup> This will present using different colors in ArcMap. One color will represent the visible, and one color will represent the not visible landscape features. Some limitations to Viewshed Analysis are that the program takes preset conditions, such as the curvature of the earth, into account, but features such as intentional landscaping have to be considered independently, after the computer generated analysis has taken place.<sup>33</sup>

The next level of analysis was going to be Sightline Analysis, using ArcGIS again. Sightlines are lines shown graphically that show where a point of view may be obstructed. Essentially, as opposed the 360 degree view of visibility, as shown in the

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<sup>30</sup> "Perform a Viewshed Analysis-I Can See for Miles and Miles," (ArcGIS. Accessed October 20, 2018), <https://learn.arcgis.com/en/projects/i-can-see-for-miles-and-miles/lessons/perform-a-viewshed-analysis.htm>.

<sup>31</sup> "Perform a Viewshed Analysis-I Can See for Miles and Miles."

<sup>32</sup> Zhi Wang, "Chapter 14."

<sup>33</sup> "Perform a Viewshed Analysis-I Can See for Miles and Miles."

viewshed analysis, sightlines represent the visibility of a single, point to point line<sup>34</sup>. In order to complete this analysis, the first step was to choose the Create Line of Sight button, which is on the 3D Analyst toolbar. Just as in the Viewshed Analysis, the height of the observer and the height of the observed object, must be selected. Both of these are optional, as is the command to include “model curvature and refraction,” but these three commands will elicit more accurate results if included.<sup>35</sup> Once these are chosen, an identifying marker where the observer and the targeted location needed to be placed on the plat. This was done by clicking the surface of the plat at the selected locations. At the end of the analysis, a line, or series of lines, showed what is visible from the given point.<sup>36</sup> This was then imported into ArcGlobe or ArcScene, both of which are 3D modeling versions of ArcMap, and the lines of sight were visible in two colors—one represents what was not seen, and one represents what was seen.

These layers of analysis were to be employed in an effort to scale down the initial data set into a manageable sample size of plantations, and consequently offer analysis as to the built environment of plantations in the ACE Basin (and what means of surveillance would have been possible by planters in the region). ArcMap is a tool that is extremely valuable to historic preservation and landscape analysis, though was not specifically developed for those fields. This was in part how it was determined, after two trial runs of the GIS software analysis that GIS was not the clearest or most effective way to represent the data. The enormous number of potential lines of sight rendered the models illegible

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<sup>34</sup> “Creating a Line of Sight-Help,” (ArcGIS, Accessed October 28, 2018), <http://desktop.arcgis.com/en/arcmap/latest/extensions/3d-analyst/creating-a-line-of-sight.htm>.

<sup>35</sup> “Creating a Line of Sight-Help,” ArcGIS.

<sup>36</sup> “Creating a Line of Sight-Help,” ArcGIS.

(Figures 3 and 4). Further, without clear architectural descriptions of each structure to identify doors and windows, it is nearly impossible to eliminate irrelevant lines of sight to make the models clearer. Though the GIS analysis may work for more modern, geographically disparate regions, it simply did not yield clear analytical opportunities for this research. Therefore, an alternative computer generated mode of analysis was considered for the development of the research.

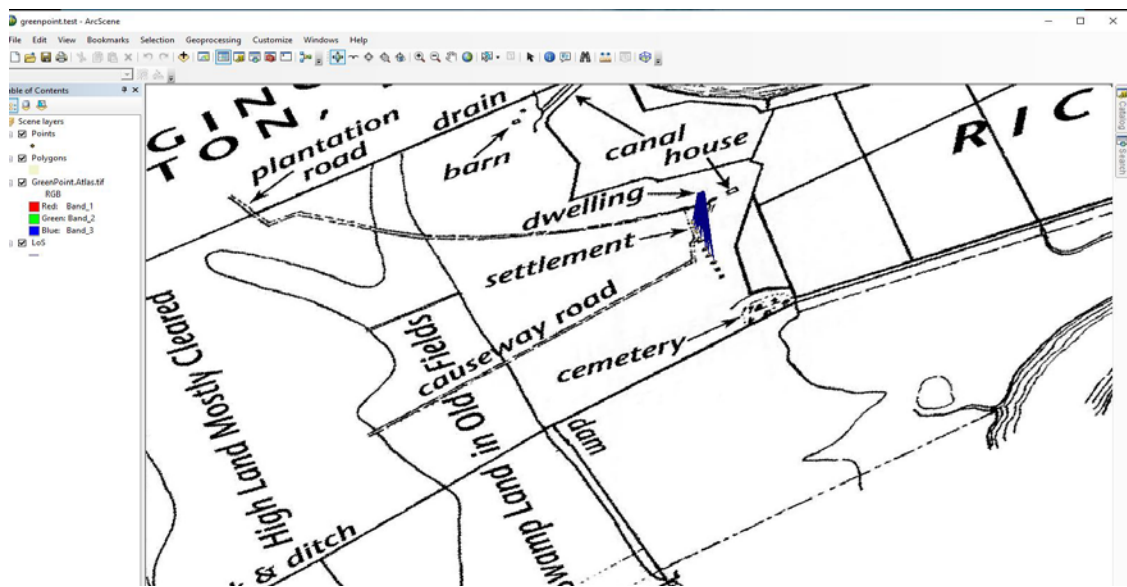


Figure 3: GIS Line of Sight analysis with illegible lines of sight.

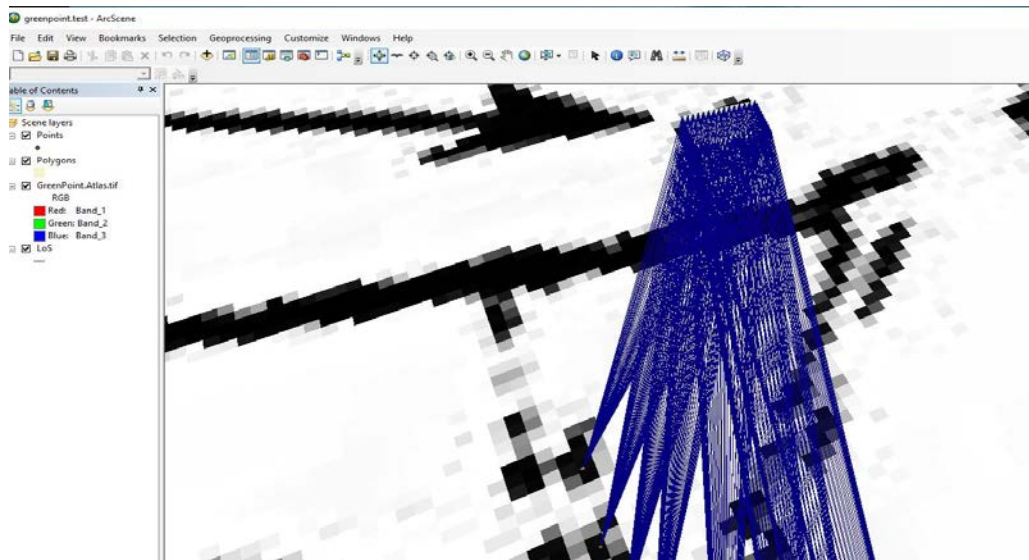


Figure 4: GIS Line of sight analysis, close up to show illegible data.

### *SketchUp Modeling Analysis*

Through discovering that GIS was not be the best way to represent the data, the author considered other options of analysis. The best method of representing data analysis was to use the SketchUp modeling software to build a 3D version of each plat, and view the model with a first person view in the program. Owned by Trimble, a company known for GPS and surveying technology, SketchUp Free is a web-based method of 3D modeling for “positioning-centric information.”<sup>37</sup>

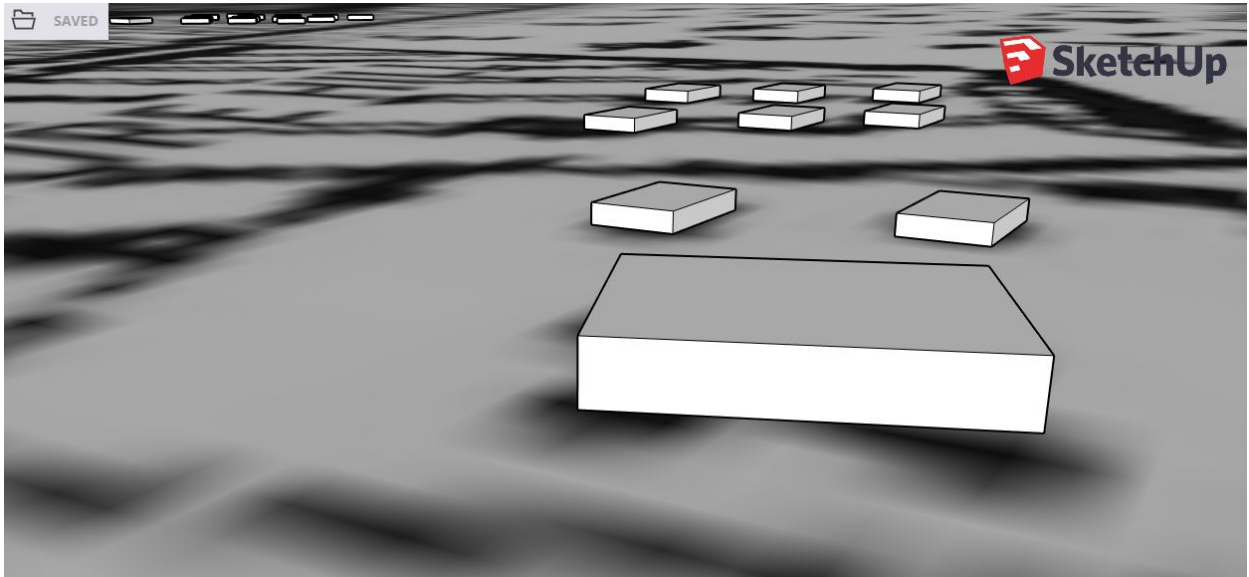
The initial steps of the analysis remained the same as described earlier in this chapter, and the acquisition and scaling of all nineteen plats used in the analysis was still vital to completing the research. Each scaled plat was then individually uploaded into SketchUp. Then, using the functions in the software, the author traced each structure

<sup>37</sup> "3D Design Software | 3D Modeling on the Web," SketchUp, (Trimble, Accessed March 20, 2019), <https://www.sketchup.com/>.

delineated on the plat using the Rectangle tool. Each dwelling of enslaved workers was drawn as one story and each dwelling of a planter or overseer was two stories to visually differentiate the types of buildings. This is not the only configuration of the structures, but it is the most common design of both types. Secondary structures, such as barns or chapels were also modeled as one story structures. Once the structures were outlined, they were raised from a 2D outline to either one or two stories. This was done using the Push/Pull tool on SketchUp, and the preset proportions for stories were the guide to floor heights. There was no inclusion of architectural features, as the basis of this analysis was to understand surveillance visibility, rather than the effect architectural features have on power and management.

Finally, the field of vision was changed to represent two fields of vision from a first person perspective. First, images were produced at an overview level, which showed all of the structures on the given plat. Then the view was changed to human scale (six feet) to identify which structures were visible from the main house. Three levels of visibility were noted at this stage. First, a count of the number of structures visible was conducted if *any* part of a building was visible. A second run of visibility counted only structures that had at least *one full* face, or elevation visible from the main house. A third, and final analysis counted structures that had at least *two full* faces visible from the main house.

From there, screen images of the software showed the projected field of vision and sightlines that the planter would have had of the property (Figure 5).



*Figure 5: Example of the 3D Modeling. Overview of Pleasant Hill, part of Bonny Hall Plantation.*

These computer-generated models were paired with extensive interpretive analysis, as well as historic context to give greater understanding to the plats, and what those present. The interpretive analysis consisted of taking the images of the 3D models and displaying the space through shading the visible structures. There, basic percentages of visible and partially visible spaces were calculated to offer a quantitative look at the surveillance capabilities on the landscapes of rice plantations. Using InDesign, the images taken of the overview of models were shaded yellow to show visibility. Red lines were used to show outer bounds of potential lines of sight. The distance between the main house and the settlement was delineated with a blue line. Through the analysis, main house is used to describe the planter or overseer's house, which represents the center of control on the plat. The dwellings of enslaved workers will be referred to as dwellings or settlements.

## **Summary**

Ultimately, these layers of data collection and analysis were an effort to come to conclusions about the significance of the location of buildings and visibility on plantations in the ACE Basin at the height of rice cultivation. At the simplest level, they addressed the question, how do these buildings relate to one another? More nuanced, the question became, what are common patterns to layouts that occur on the plantation landscape? By combining the mapping data with interpretive historical data plats had more significant meaning. There were conclusions drawn about the landscape and built environments that showed clear value in this type of analysis, and will be detailed in later chapters.



## CHAPTER THREE

### MAPS AND HISTORY

Analysis of slave surveillance in the ACE Basin relies on the surviving cartographic, nineteenth-century evidence. The plats shown on the following pages present an opportunity to analyze the landscape of plantations in a particular moment in time, significant considering the dynamic nature of the rice plantation landscape. Plats are drawn typically as survey for personal evaluation or before sale of land, or marking land division and road placement. Historic plats offer evidence of buildings and configurations of structures that may not survive today. Therefore, they are a valuable resource in analyzing the landscape of enslaved workers' dwellings and work spaces.

This chapter introduces each of the plantations included in this study. Ninety-one plantations in the ACE Basin produced rice during the period of study, 1800-1867. In this thesis, nineteen of those plantations comprised the sample pool for analysis.<sup>38</sup> While each of the plantations is a rice plantation, they assumed a variety of spatial configurations. As American folklorist John Vlach wrote, "By looking at plantations as ensembles, we come to realize that it is more correct to speak of southern plantations rather than of *the* southern plantation."<sup>39</sup> The plats in this study confirm this position that there may not be one singular model plantation type, as there was no prevailing single situation or plan

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<sup>38</sup> These plats are all scanned from Suzanne Cameron Linder's *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin -1860*, found in the Clemson University CDC.C Library. Before compiled in this volume, the plats were on microfilm or the original paper and found in a variety of historic document repositories such as the Gaillard Plat Collection at the South Carolina Historical Society and the deed offices of Charleston, Colleton, and Beaufort Counties.

<sup>39</sup> John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House, The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1993), 193.

observed. Rather, there are similarities between plantations, but each one has a variation in some manner of characteristic, whether is it size of labor force, style of dwelling, or amount of acreage. This analysis examines these plantations individually, and then as a collective. Each planter may have used neighboring plantations or agricultural journal advice columns as inspiration for the layout of a rice plantation, but most of these plantations have some level of individuality involved in the overall layout of the landscape.

Though certainly there were landholding ideals and managerial techniques that played significantly into the plantation design, ultimately one planters' goal was show dominance in their mastery of the use of architecture and landscape manipulation.s Planters set out to purchase land, and then stake claim to that land through means of boundary delineation and improvement of the area. Improved land included planted fields, but also consisted of the construction of structures for working and living.<sup>40</sup> This thesis will briefly summarize the history of these plantations to offer background to what these 'tastes, values, and attitudes' may look like for each planter. Then, the research will compare the plantations to one another through the more macroscopic landscape lens.

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<sup>40</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 1.

The plantations in this chapter are listed alphabetically.

### Airy Hall Plantation

Located in Colleton County, Airy Hall Plantation came to fruition through the joining of multiple tracts of land, owned by Philip Smith and his relatives. During the 1800s, Philip Smith Price owned and operated Airy Hall Plantation. Though it is unclear

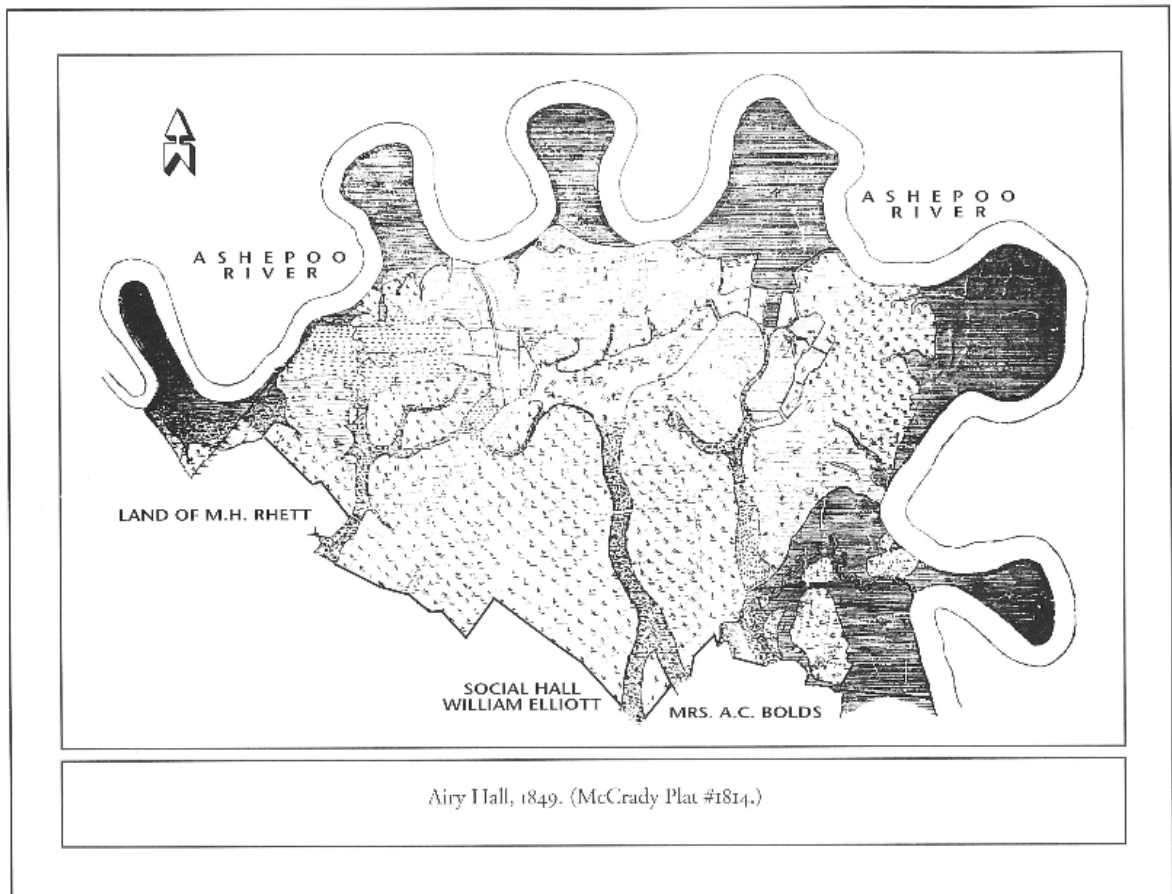


Figure 6: Airy Hall Plantation plat, 1849. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

if Price inherited the property with structures, or if he built them himself, when Price was owner of the property in 1849-1850, it consisted of 3221 acres, and thirty structures. Based on the Agricultural Census of 1850, “Price reported 36,00 pounds of rice, three

bales of cotton, and 250 bushels of corn. He kept 90 sheep, and they produced one hundred pounds of wool.”<sup>41</sup> Based on the 1850 Slave Schedule, Philip S. Price owned seventeen enslaved workers. Though the acreage of this plantation puts it in the same range as plantations such as Jehossee, Bonny Hall, and Cattell Island, which had in the range of 150 to 700 enslaved workers, so there may be more workers who were not recorded.<sup>42</sup> Today, Airy Hall is part of a tract of land that combined many surrounding plantations, and all of the structures, including the main house, have been replaced.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 3.

<sup>42</sup> "United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MVZR-FGF> : 29 July 2017), Philip S Price, Colleton county, Colleton, South Carolina, United States; citing line number 14, NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 444,826.

<sup>43</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 3-4.

## Barings Plantation

Barings Plantation is located in Charleston County, and was founded in the late

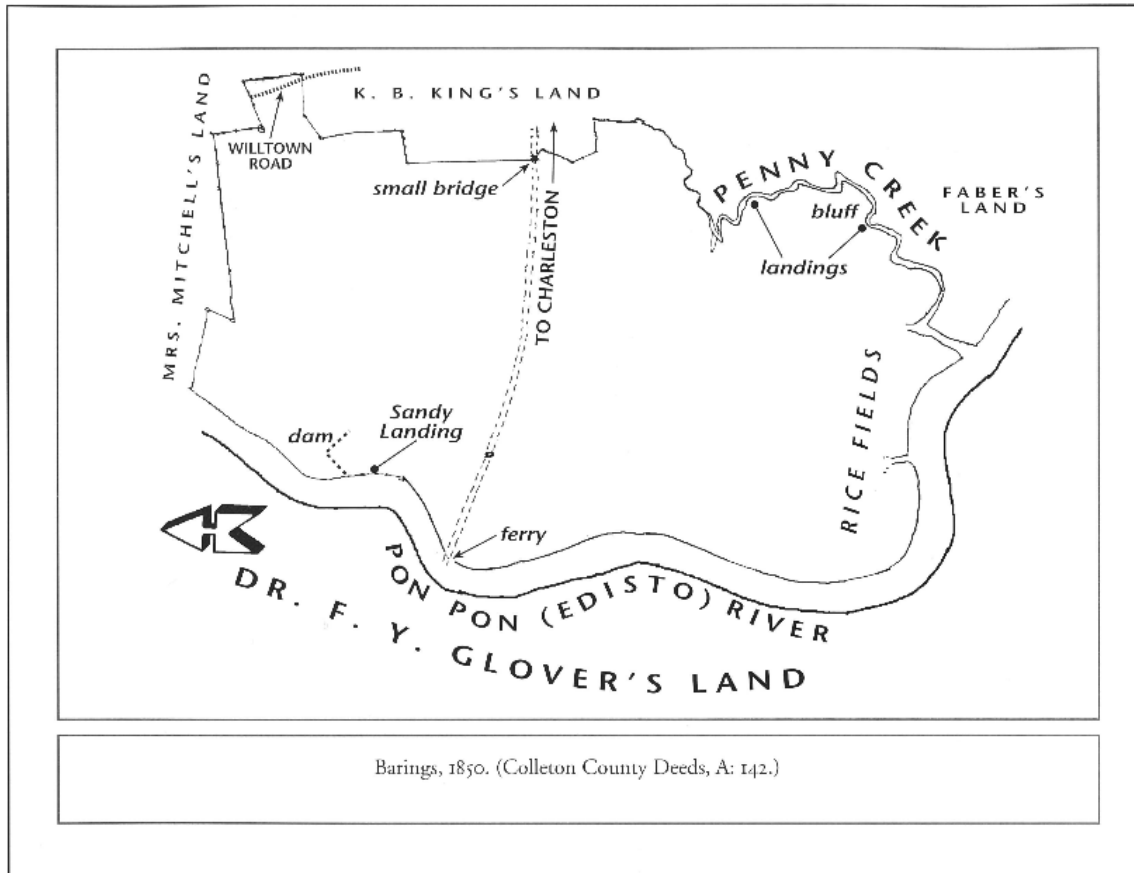


Figure 7: Barings Plantation plat, 1850. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

eighteenth century by Charles Baring of England. He married Susan Cole Heyward, and is most known for founding Flat Rock, North Carolina.<sup>44</sup> Though Baring married into the Heyward rice dynasty, he purchased his own land in the 1830s, and by 1850 had 4,544 acres and 140 enslaved workers to cultivate the rice. The plantation also produced corn,

<sup>44</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 31.

peas, sweet potatoes, and owned cows, horses, oxen, sheep and other cattle.<sup>45</sup> However, for as large as the plantation ostensibly was, there are only four structures clearly denoted on the plat. In the postbellum period, the land was rented for phosphate mining, as the Civil War destroyed the land's profitability for agriculture. Today the land is privately owned and called Sandy Point Plantation.<sup>46</sup>

### **Blandford Plantation**

Blandford Plantation was one of Nathaniel Heyward's multiple holdings in the Lowcountry—he reportedly owned 35,000 acres of land in 1849, and had a career planting rice for over sixty years.<sup>47</sup> Though Heyward purchased the land from George Morgan Gibbes, likely with the structures on the property, Heyward is responsible for

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<sup>45</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 33.

<sup>46</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 34.

<sup>47</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 53.

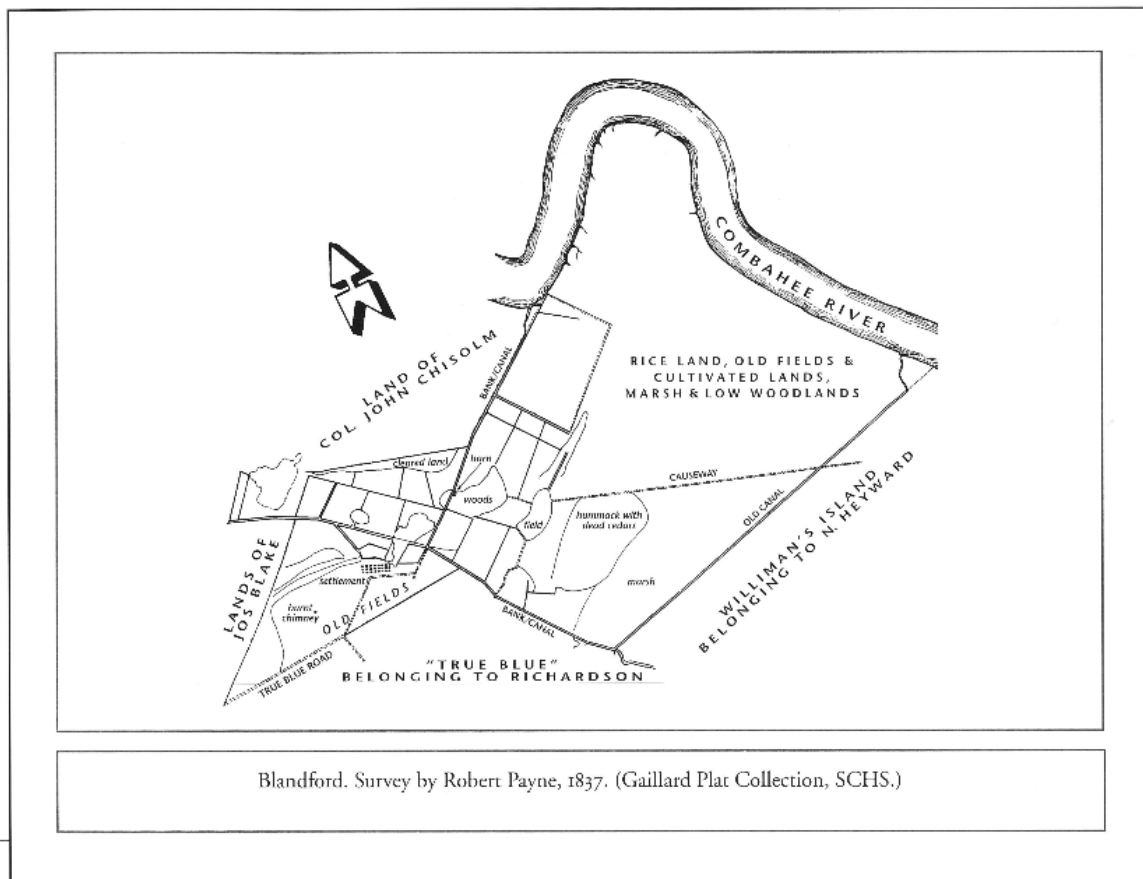


Figure 8: Blandford Plantation plat, 1837. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

giving the land to William Henry Heyward, who implemented a new rice bank for cultivation, and a new rice trunk in 1872.<sup>48</sup> The plat of this property was drawn during the sale from Gibbes to Heyward in 1837, and shows twenty-five structures on the 4000 acre property. The rice fields on this property were described in an advertisement as, “as fine land as any on Combahee. We look for 60 to 65 bushels for some time. There are fields at Blandford that have made 80 bushels per acre.”<sup>49</sup> The average production rate of

<sup>48</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 53.

<sup>49</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 53.

a rice field in the period was forty-five bushels per acre, making this an extraordinarily productive plantation.<sup>50</sup> Heyward had an estimated 231 enslaved workers at this plantation, based on the 1860 US Census, though his multiple plantation holdings make it difficult to get a precise number on a specific plantation.<sup>51</sup> There are no clear description of any other crops or animals that may have been produced and raised at Blandford, aside from the marshes being home to ducks, oysters and rockfish.<sup>52</sup> Further, the main structure on this property is likely an overseer's dwelling, as the Heywards lived at their adjoining plantation, Clay Hall. The property did not fare well through the Civil War, and like many ACE Basin plantations suffered significant damage from Union forces. Through a series of transactions over the course of the twentieth century, Blandford is now part of a multiple tract land holding.<sup>53</sup>

### **Bonny Hall Plantation**

Beaufort County's Bonny Hall Plantation was originally part of the 1732 Joseph Blake holding in the Lowcountry, and remained in the Blake family though the Civil War. Though it expanded over the course of succeeding generations of owners, during the early 1800s, Joseph Blake (the grandson of the original Joseph Blake) owned 3000 acres. His son, Walter Blake managed the property, as well as his own 330 acres in the

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<sup>50</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 53.

<sup>51</sup> Tom Blake, "Beaufort County, South Carolina Largest Slaveholders from 1860 Slave census Schedules and Surname Matches for African Americans on 1870 Census," (Rootsweb. 2001. Accessed March 09, 2019.), <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~ajac/scbeaufort.htm>.

<sup>52</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 54.

<sup>53</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 54.



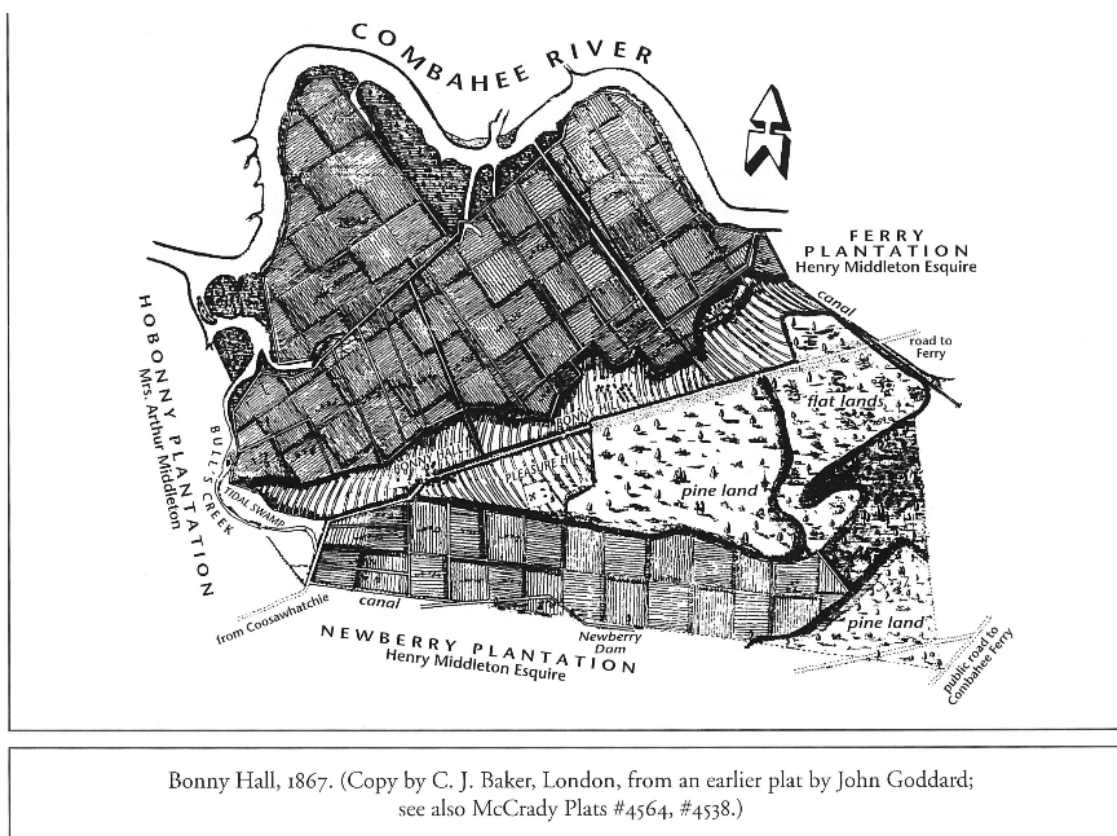


Figure 9: Bonny Hall Plantation plat, 1867. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

same area. In the 1867 plat of the property, there are three different settlements on the land—Bonny Hall, Bonny Hill, and Pleasure Hill. It is assumed that Blake and his family lived at the Bonny Hall settlement, and the other settlements are enslaved dwellings, because Blake had a massive holding of 620 enslaved workers, a combination of his father's and his own. Over the three settlements, there are thirty-six structures. In 1859, Blake reported an extremely successful harvest of over three million pounds of rice between his land and his father's land at Bonny Hall.<sup>54</sup>

There are no other crops listed for harvest there, and it is perhaps a later owner

<sup>54</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 85.

who is most known from Bonny Hall. The Bissell family had a large postbellum farming operation based on the plantation, but became the site of one of the largest agricultural strikes in the south.<sup>55</sup> Today, the property has gone through a series of high-profile owners, and historic integrity of the structures suffered significant architectural and landscape changes, designed by Umberto Innocenti and Samuel Lapham. The current owners are attempting to strip those changes and take the plantation back to the original state.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 86.

<sup>56</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 88.

## Cattell Island Plantation

Cattell Island Plantation is located in Colleton County, though it is not actually an island. Instead, it is a central point of higher land, surrounded by marsh, and therefore it was called an island due to the limited space for building. Originally developed by the

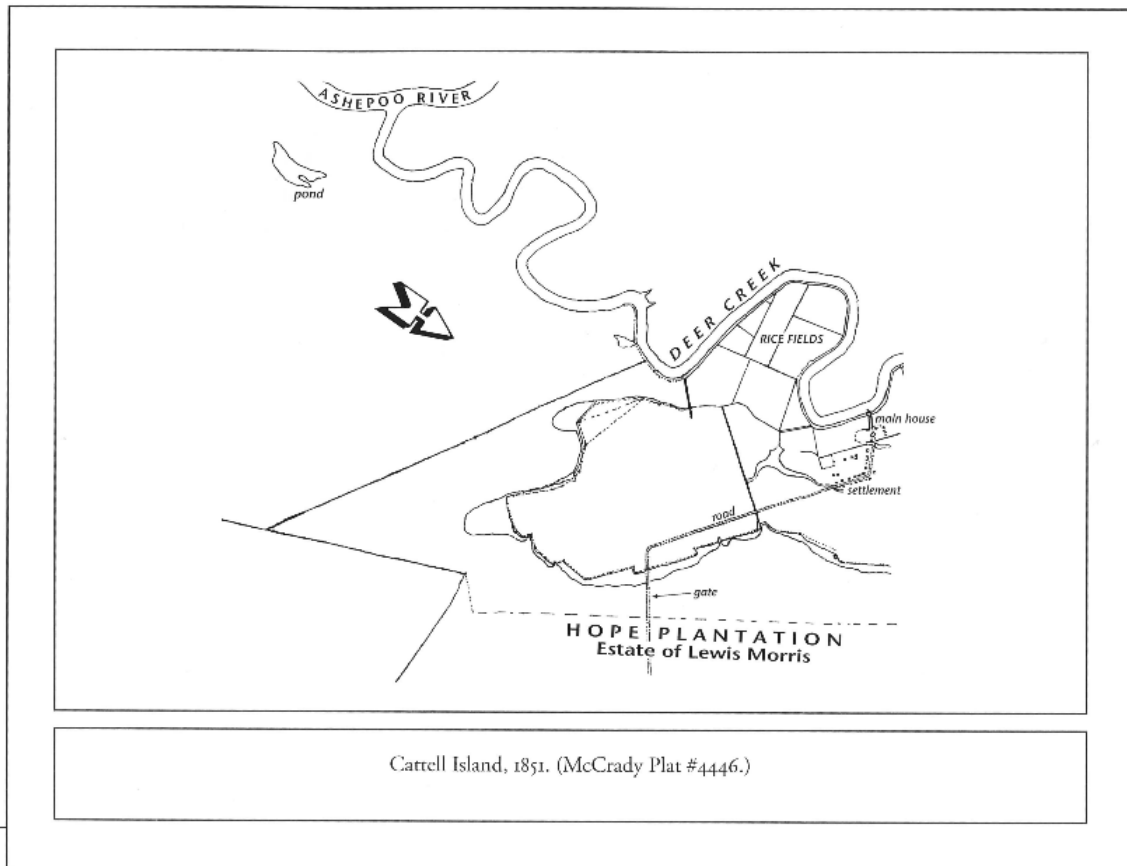


Figure 10: Cattell Island Plantation plat, 1851. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

Cattell family, it quickly went to the Jenkins family, who owned it through the first half of the nineteenth century. The property was comprised of 1,470 acres and had thirty-three structures. It is assumed that the land was run by an overseer managing the 100 enslaved

workers because Robert Boone Jenkins lived at Refuge Plantation in Walterboro.<sup>57</sup>

Jenkins owned Cattell Island at the time the plat pictured was drawn, though he sold the property in 1858 to Robert Press Smith, who owned it at the time of 1860 agricultural census which listed rice as a main crop, but also cotton and provision crops.<sup>58</sup> Today, the plantation is part of the Hope Plantation tract.

### **Butler's Island Plantation**

Eighteenth century records of this Colleton County plantation referred to Butler's Island Plantation, and the property was significantly smaller than it was in the nineteenth century. However, after a series of transactions from Robert Seabrook to Thomas Butler, and then to the Thomas Elliott family, and a purchase of the adjoining Fishburne plantation, the VanderHorst family owned 2440 acres of the 'island,' and renamed it Chickesee Plantation.<sup>59</sup> In the 1830 plat of the property there were thirty structures to house 211 enslaved workers, as well as provide a house for an the VanderHorst family to stay when visiting the property, as they had an estate on Kiawah, and a house downtown.<sup>60</sup> The plantation was predominantly a rice plantation, but also had land for

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<sup>57</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 106.; "United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850," database with images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MVZR-MB9> : 29 July 2017), Robert B Jenkins, Colleton county, Colleton, South Carolina, United States; citing line number 34, NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 444,826.

<sup>58</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 106.

<sup>59</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 126.

<sup>60</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 126.

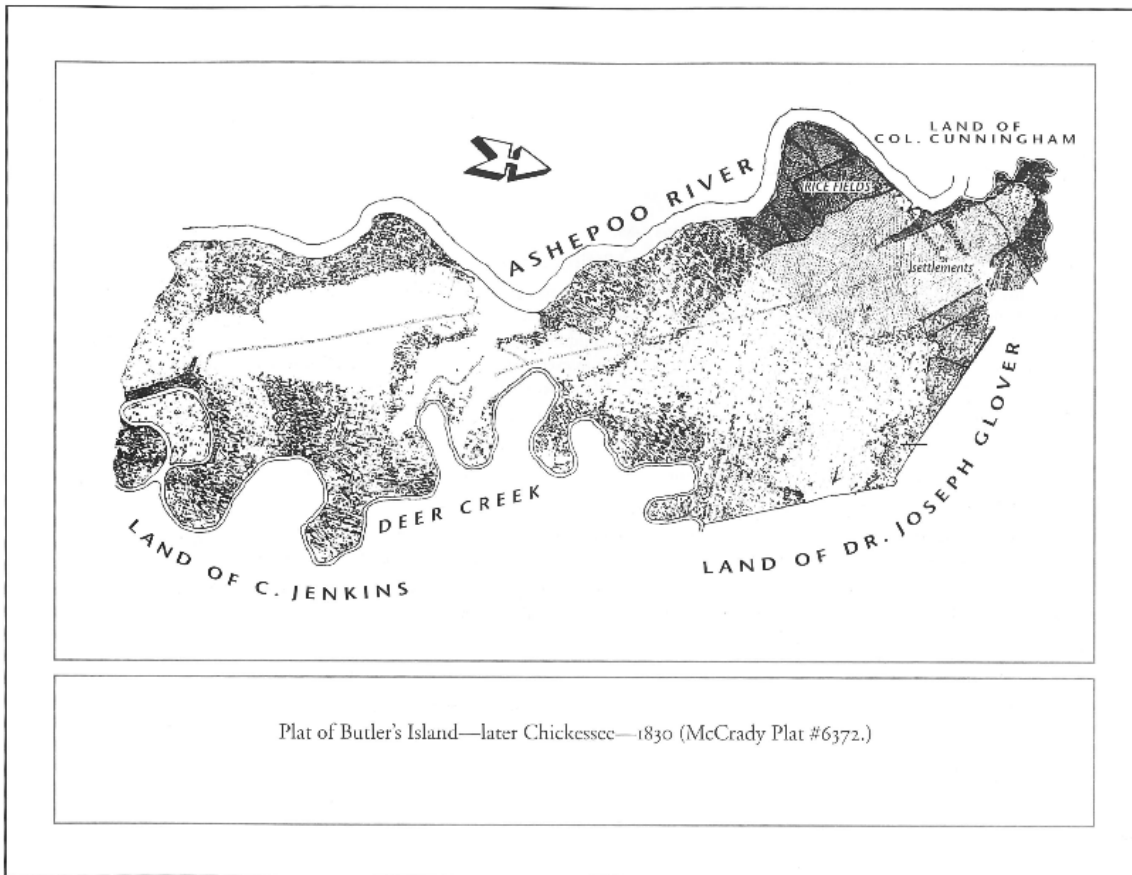


Figure 11: Butler's Island Plantation plat, 1830. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

corn plantings. Fishing was also important on the land, as Ann VanderHorst described in her writings about a ball held on the property in 1859.<sup>61</sup> There was much turmoil, both before and after emancipation, about the enslaved labor at this plantation, and was the place of much labor unrest. This led to the ruin of the planting profitability on the property, and today the land is part of Snuggedy Plantation.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 125-126.

<sup>62</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 126-130.

## Green Point Plantation

Green Point Plantation is in Beaufort County, and was initially part Drayton



Figure 12: Green Point Plantation plat, 1815/1824. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

property in the 1700s, and ultimately combined with property owned by Colonel John Palmer when James Hartley purchased all of the 1700 acres. Only about 900 of those acres stayed with the Hartley daughters. Through marriage, the land was owned by Robert Deas when the 1815 and 1824 plat was drawn by John Wilson.<sup>63</sup> The property has ten structures to house an estimated 231 enslaved workers, which date to the 1824 plat though are likely retained to the Heyward occupancy, as the Heywards did not live at this property to necessitate a change in landscape once they purchased it.<sup>64</sup> In 1860, William

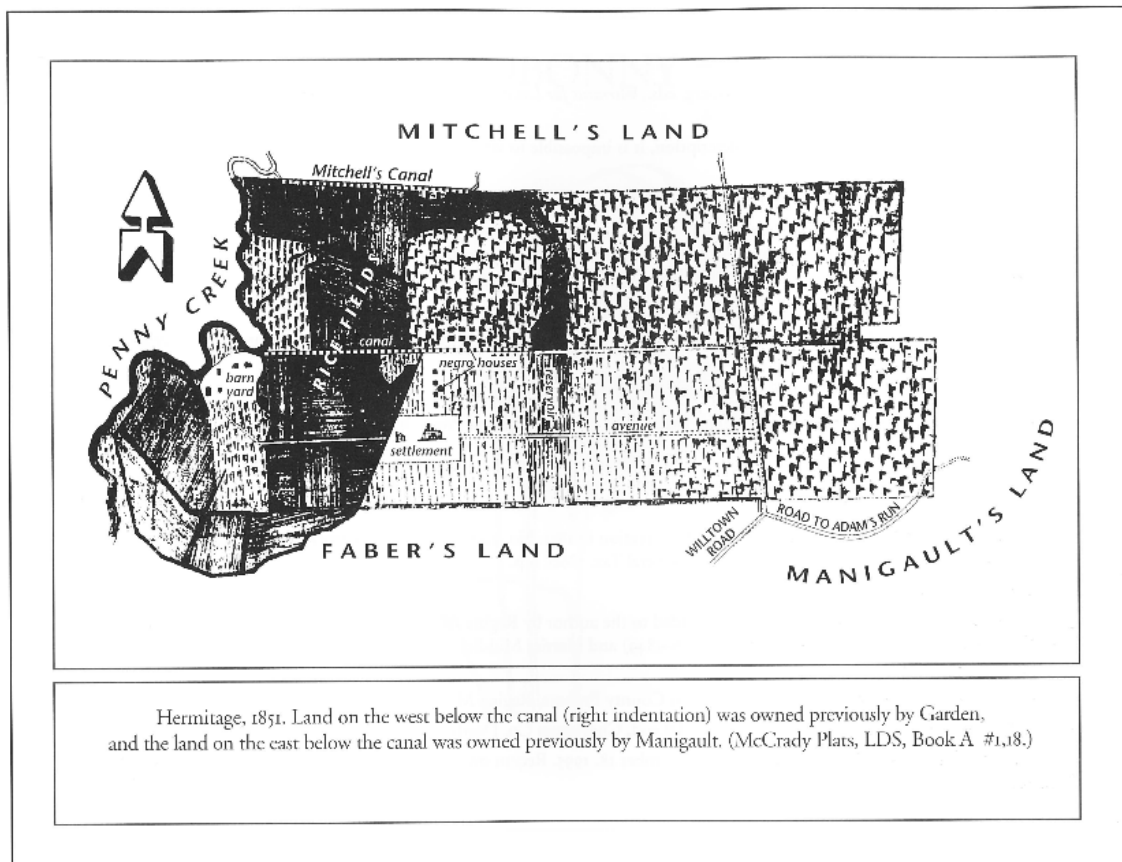
<sup>63</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 195.

<sup>64</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 54.; Tom Blake, "Beaufort County, South Carolina Largest Slaveholders," <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~ajac/scbeaufort.htm>.

Henry Heyward, who also owned the aforementioned Blandford Plantation, owned Green Point, and advertised the land as being good for rice, cotton, and corn. It is currently part of the Nemours Plantation Wildlife Foundation.<sup>65</sup>

### Hermitage Plantation

Hermitage Plantation is located in Charleston County, is a relatively small 400-acre rice plantation on the Edisto River. The land first appeared in grants in the early



Hermitage, 1851. Land on the west below the canal (right indentation) was owned previously by Garden, and the land on the east below the canal was owned previously by Manigault. (McCrady Plats, LDS, Book A #1,18.)

Figure 13: Hermitage Plantation plat, 1851. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

1700s to William Livingston. It was sold in various configurations of land holdings to

<sup>65</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 196.

and from adjoining properties, but the 1851 plat gives the best image of what the plantation looked like in the antebellum era. Owned by William Wescoat, Hermitage consisted of seventeen structures on the 410 acre lot, and was farmed for rice and provision crops.<sup>66</sup> There were fifty enslaved workers on the land in 1851, when the land was surveyed.<sup>67</sup> Today the plantation is owned by a conglomerate of Greenville, SC men, and is maintained for duck hunting.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 232-233.

<sup>67</sup> "United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850," database with images, *FamilySearch*(<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MVZR-7T3> : 29 July 2017), William Wescott, Colleton county, Colleton, South Carolina, United States; citing line number 29, NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 444,826.

<sup>68</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 234.



## Hope Plantation

Hope Plantation is in Colleton County, and through many divisions and wills made its way through generations of the Morris family. Ann Elliott married Lewis Morris, and the two had inherited or purchased much of what became Hope. Though the land eventually passed to William Elliott Morris at Lewis Morris' death, Ann still had much control because her will divided the land and property between her eight children.<sup>69</sup> It is difficult to discern an exact property owner in 1850 through all of the land ownership

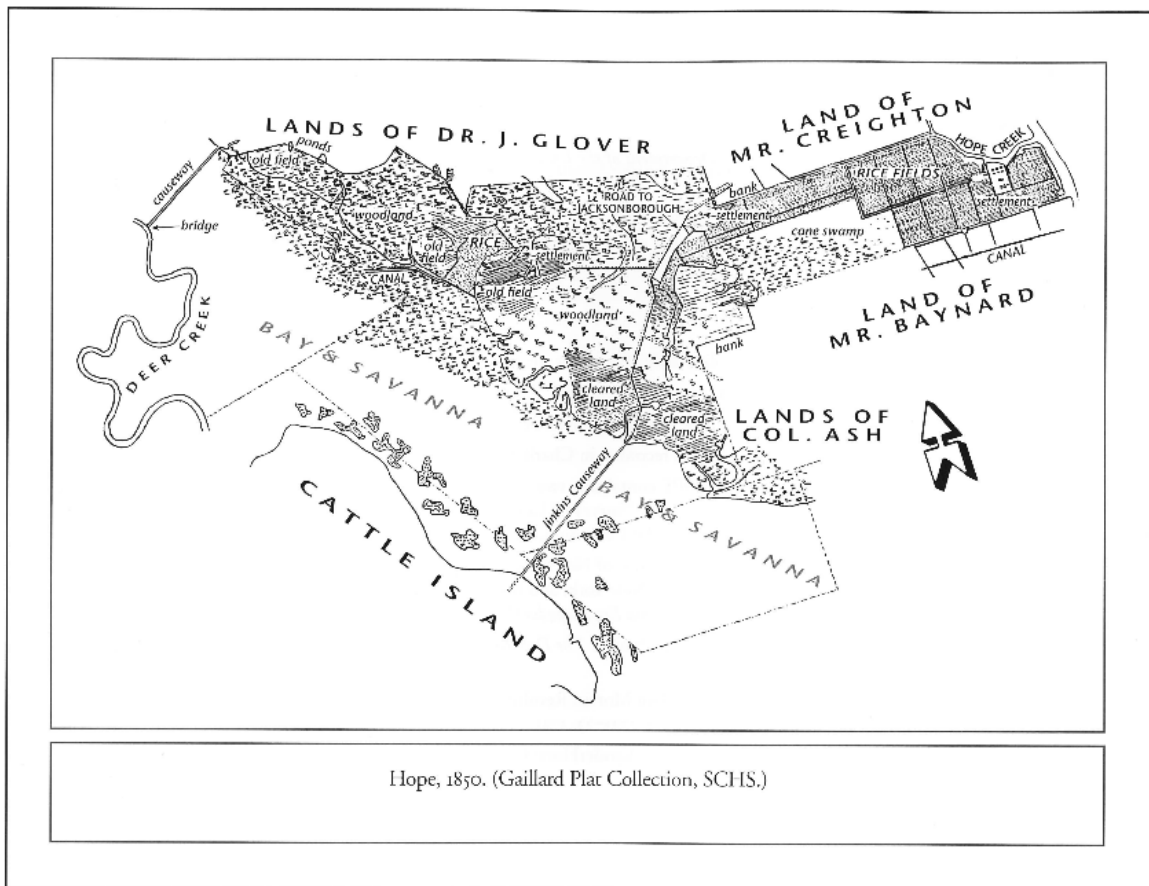


Figure 14: Hope Plantation Plat, 1850. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

<sup>69</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 255-256.

changes within the family. However, the likely state of the plantation when the 1850 plat was completed was 2,200 acres of land tended by 107 enslaved workers, and housed twenty-one structures.<sup>70</sup> Today Hope Plantation has been combined and expanded to include many surrounding plantations, and has changed hands through many high-profile owners. Most recently, Ted Turner sold the property to George Dean Johnson.<sup>71</sup> None of the buildings on the property today date to the antebellum period, though there was a report of “about 300 slave cabins” being torn down. The 1850 plat shows significantly fewer structures.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> “1845 Bill of Sale.” (Information contributed by Kathy Nienhouse. South Carolina Plantations: SCIWay, 2019), <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/colleton/hope.html>.; “1850 Bill of Sale,” (Information contributed by Kathy Nienhouse. South Carolina Plantations: SCIWay, 2019), <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/colleton/hope.html>.

<sup>71</sup> “Hope Plantation,” <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/colleton/hope.html>.

<sup>72</sup> The explanation for this could be that in the past decades Hope Plantation has absorbed many of the surrounding plantations. Those 300 dwellings may include structures from neighboring plantations that still had extant settlements, and they were attributed to Hope.; “Hope Plantation, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/colleton/hope.html>.

## Jehossee Island Plantation

Jehossee Island Plantation is on a large island in the Edisto River, and is located in Charleston County. Early records show the plantation as being owned by first the Chervall family, and the Jenys and a few generations of related family, but it ultimately went to the Drayton family in 1776.<sup>73</sup> William Aiken purchased about 1500 acres in 1830, and developed a large land holding with numerous structures to house and care for his 700 enslaved workers, and ninety-eight structures on the island, excluding rice mills.<sup>74</sup> There was extensive experimental rice production on the island, as Aiken worked

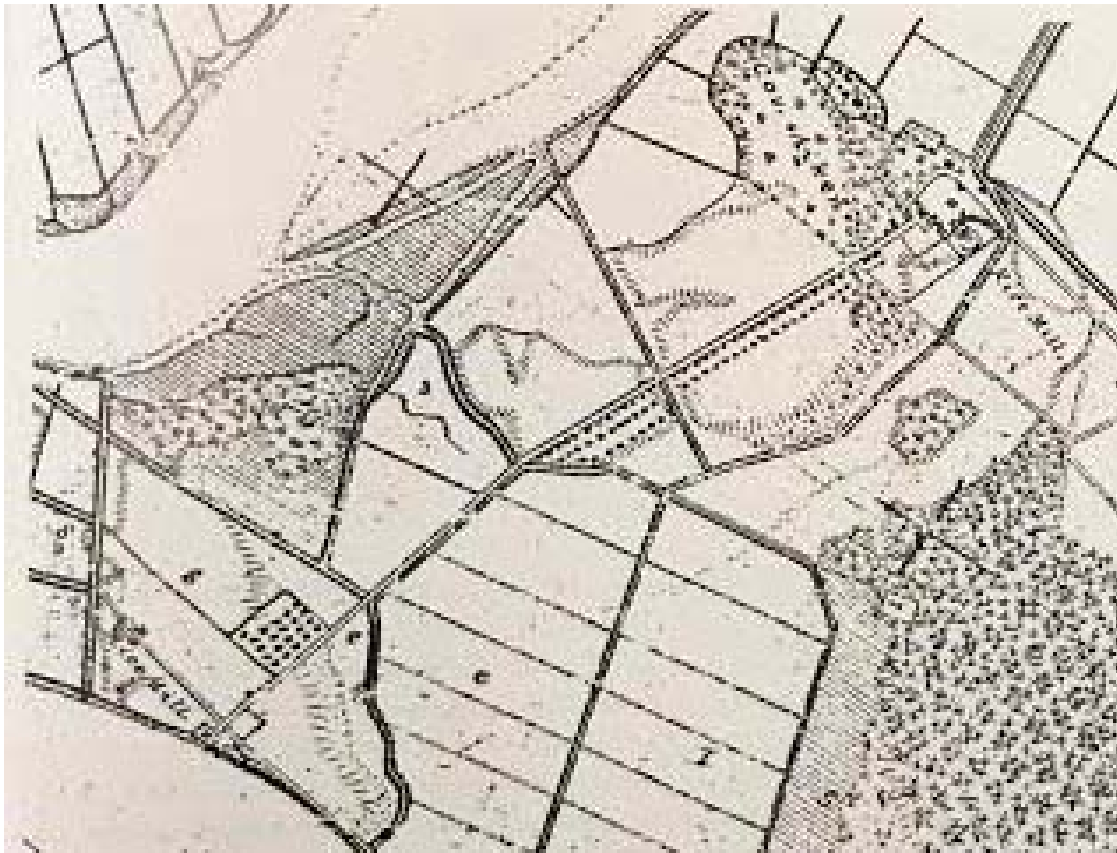


Figure 15: Jehossee Island Plantation plat. Found in *Archeological and Historical Investigations*, Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, and Nicole Southerland.

<sup>73</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 288.

<sup>74</sup> Tom Blake, "Largest US County Slaveholders in 1860."

to try various methods, structures and materials for planting rice most efficiently. He also considered the health of his enslaved laborers to be of the utmost importance and consequently he had many cisterns and hospitals on the island.<sup>75</sup> The island had gardens, pigs, poultry, oysters, fish and crabs, predominantly for the benefit of the enslaved workers. There was corn, sweet potatoes, horses, mules, milk cows, oxen, cattle, sheep, and swine for profit purposes in 1860. Recently, Jehossee was owned by the Maybanks who used it as a hunting lodge, though today Jehossee Island is protected as land owned by the US Fish and Wildlife Services.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 290-291.

<sup>76</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 293-295.

## Lewisburg Plantation

Lewisburg Plantation is another (the fourth recorded in 1851) rice plantation of Nathaniel Heyward. He gave the land to his son, Charles Heyward. Charles Heyward owned and lived on Rose Hill Plantation, so on the 900 acres that housed eleven structures and 105 enslaved workers during the Heyward occupation, there was also a

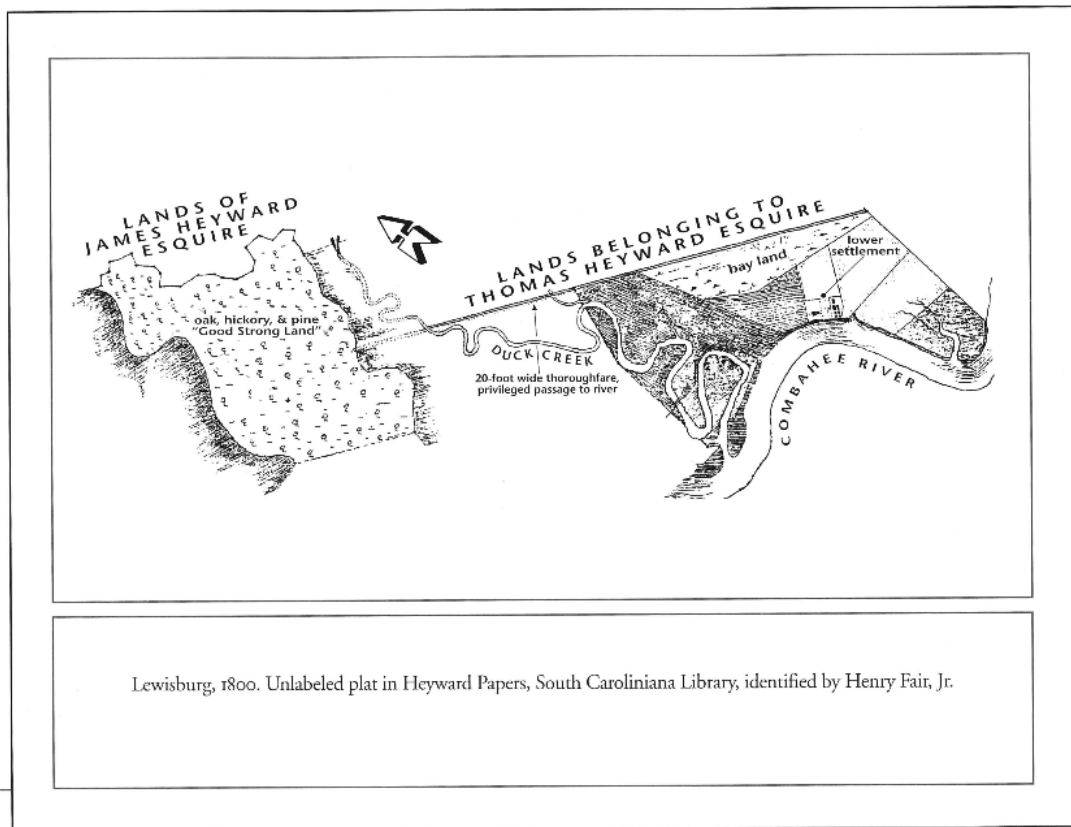


Figure 16: Lewisburg Plantation plat, 1800. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

driver and a watchman.<sup>77</sup> There is little information on Lewisburg, since it was a smaller plantation, that had no permanent Heyward presence. It is not clear what is left of the

<sup>77</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 317.; "Slaves Freed from Lewisburg Plantation, Colleton County, SC," (Lowcountry Africana. Accessed February 24, 2019), <https://lowcountryafricana.com/slaves-freed-from-lewisburg-plantation-colleton-county-sc/>.

plantation or the land aside from the fact that Combahee Corporation bought both Lewisburg and Rose Hill in 1915 and a descendant of the Heyward family still owns Rose Hill Plantation, so it is likely Lewisburg was sold in that transaction.<sup>78</sup>

### **Newport Plantation**

Newport Plantation also began, in part, as property belonging to Joseph Blake in the 1700s. However, in the late eighteenth century the land was purchased and

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<sup>78</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 317, 525.

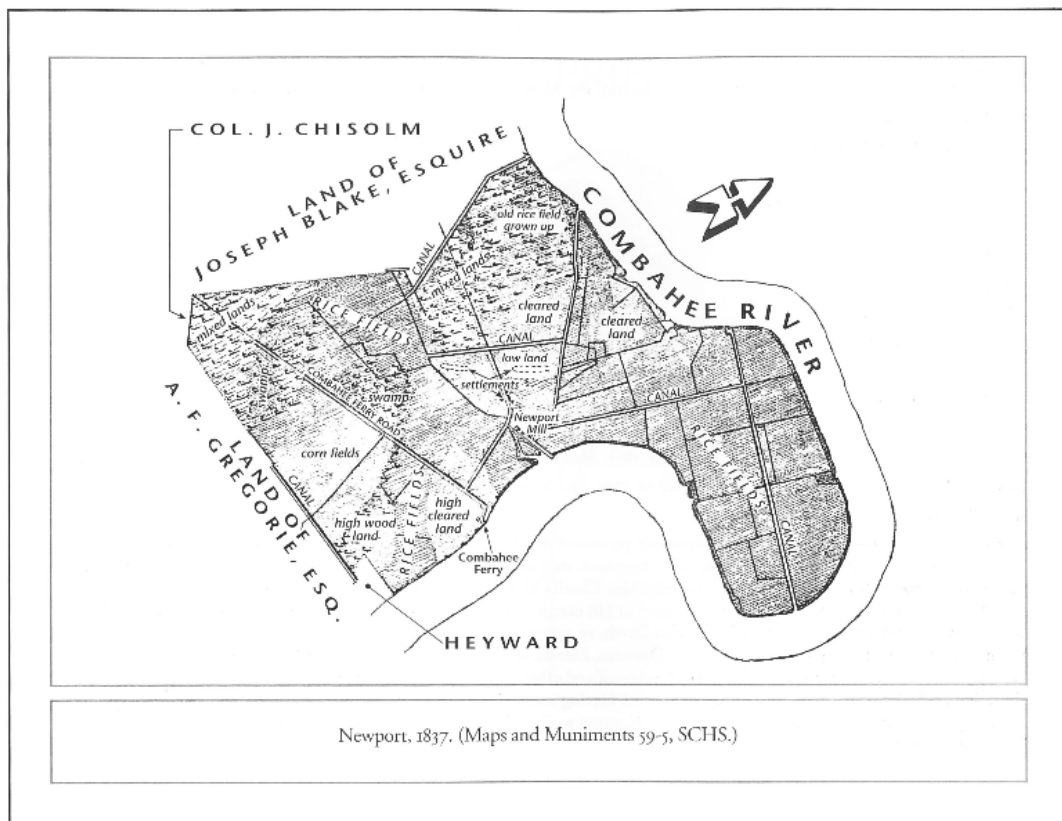


Figure 17: Newport Plantation plat, 1837. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

consolidated with other tracts by Henry Middleton to create Newport.<sup>79</sup> At the time of the 1837 plat, Henry Middleton (the grandson) owned the plantation. He and his wife lived at Middleton Place, though they had a house on Newport for their time in Beaufort County. Based on the agricultural census and Slave Schedule of 1850, as well as the 1837 plat, Newport has 1200 acres, thirty-five structures and 221 enslaved workers.<sup>80</sup> Today, the

<sup>79</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 371.

<sup>80</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 372.; "1850 Census," (Ancestry.com Heritage Quest. 2019), [https://www-ancestryheritagequest-com.ezproxy.ccpl.org/interactive/1276/csusasc1850\\_033762-0150?pid=3439924&backurl=https://search-ancestryheritagequest-com.ezproxy.ccpl.org/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26qh%3Dlq2nj6ajCU%252fGFuau3szE7Q%253d%253d%26db%3DNonPopCensus%26gss%3Dangs-](https://www-ancestryheritagequest-com.ezproxy.ccpl.org/interactive/1276/csusasc1850_033762-0150?pid=3439924&backurl=https://search-ancestryheritagequest-com.ezproxy.ccpl.org/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26qh%3Dlq2nj6ajCU%252fGFuau3szE7Q%253d%253d%26db%3DNonPopCensus%26gss%3Dangs-)

plantation and its land are owned by the Nemours Plantation Wildlife Fund.

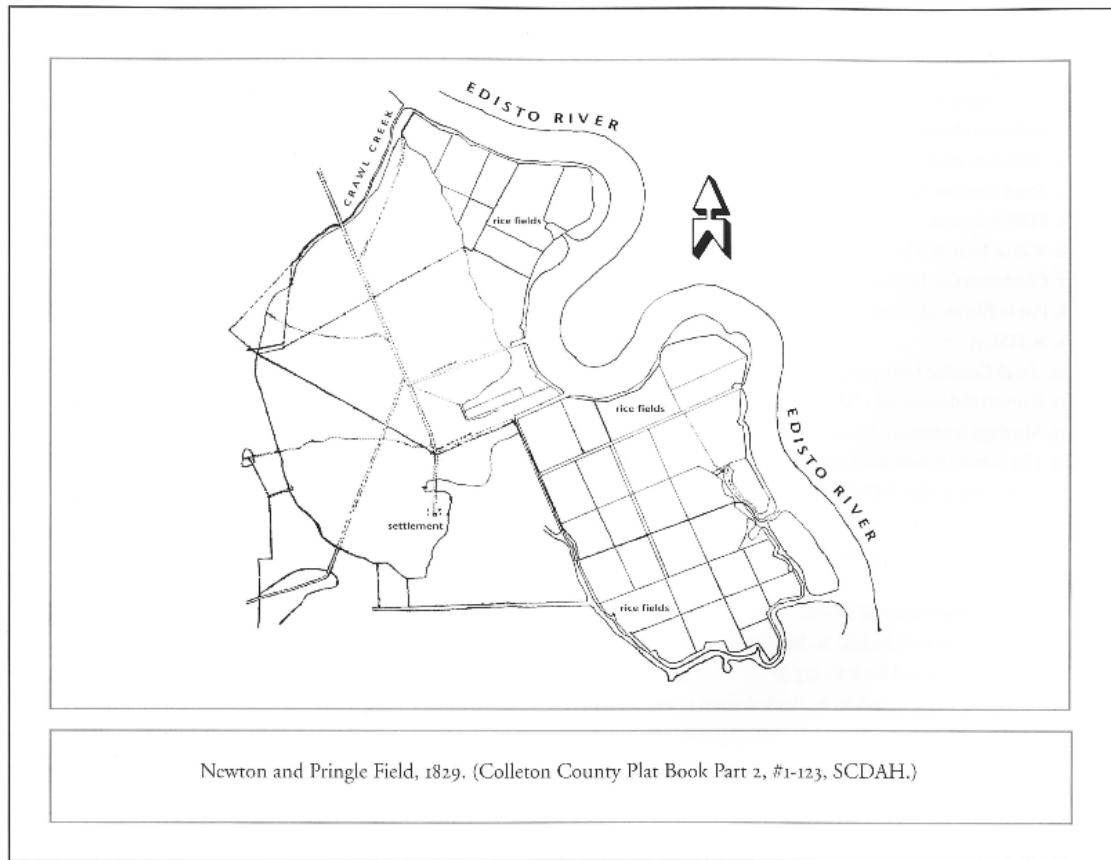


Figure 18: Newton Plantation plat, 1829. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

## Newton Plantation

Newton Plantation is in Colleton County, and is also identified with its “component tract,”<sup>81</sup> Pringle Field. Owned by John McPherson, the plantation was one of six plantations that were left to his children at his death in 1806. Newton was left to two

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<sup>81</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 379.



of his daughters, Ann and Susan, and the inventory that occurred as the land was being settled lists 147 enslaved workers. These workers were divided into “‘John’s people’ and ‘Cato’s people,’” as well as “Africans under John” and “Africans under Cato,” indicating that this plantation was divided into groups based on the rice driver who operated a field. At the time of the 1829 plat, the land consisted of 1092 acres, and had twenty structures. Ann and Susan still owned the property at the time of the 1850 agricultural census, and each of their sections of the plantation listed the crops as rice, corn, rye, wool and oats, as well as having horses, mules, cows, working oxen, cattle, and sheep. Today, most of Newport is part of Hope Plantation. Pringle Field is owned separately.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 379-382.

## Oakland Plantation

Similarly, to Newton and Pringle Field, Oakland Plantation had multiple settlements, most notably Laurel Spring. Owned by Edward Lynah at the time of the 1813 plat, it totaled 2,488 acres, though tax records show that Lynah held 3005 acres and forty-five enslaved workers.<sup>83</sup> The property increased to 4200 acres by 1850 under the ownership of the Lowndes family, with horses, mules, working oxen, cattle, sheep and

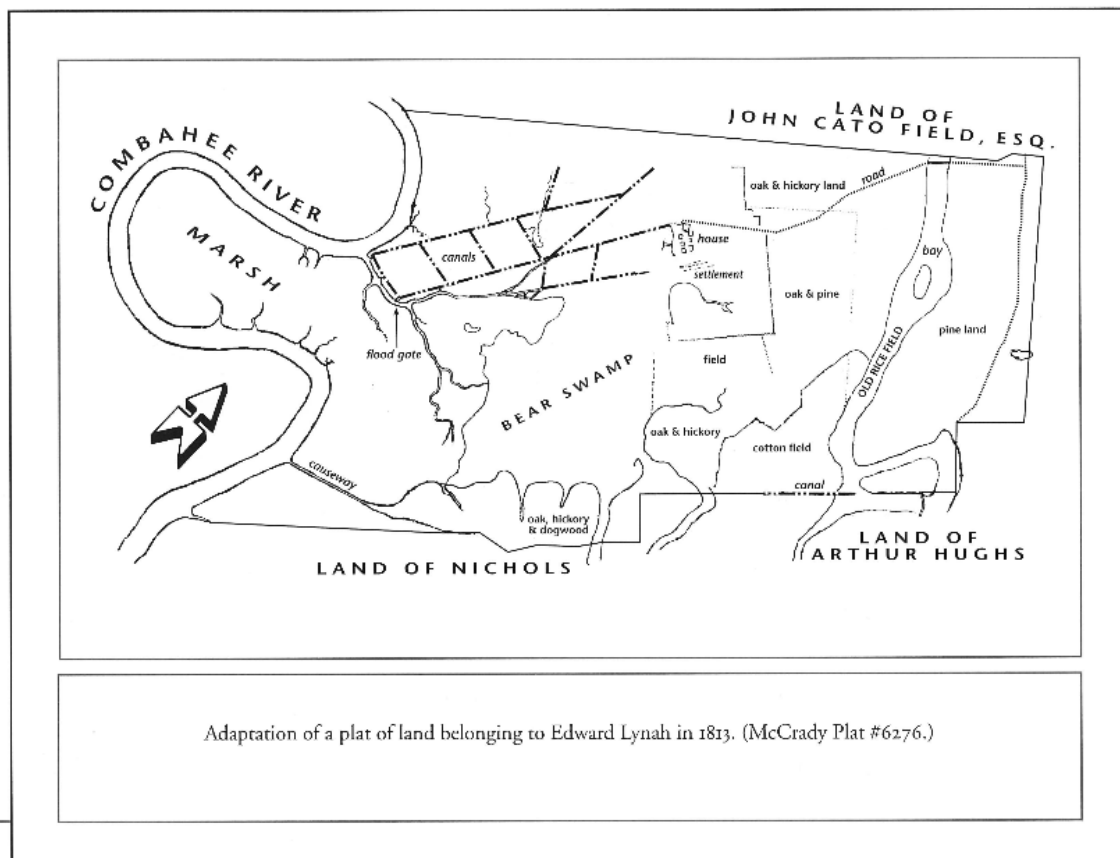


Figure 19: Oakland Plantation plat, 1813. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

swine, and produced rice, corn and oats.<sup>84</sup> It, like many other ACE Basin plantations was

<sup>83</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 395.

<sup>84</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 396-397.

completely devastated in the Civil War. However, Laurel Spring had its own dwelling and enslaved worker housing that remained intact through the war, and consisted of about 1580 acres of land at the end of the war.<sup>85</sup> Based on the 1813 plat, there were twenty-three structures on the both parts of the property, though today those are lost to the War, fire and the division of land that has absorbed Laurel Spring and Oakland into ownership with other plantations.<sup>86</sup>

### **Poco Sabo Plantation**

Poco Sabo Plantation was named after a Native American settlement from the area, and was in Colleton County.<sup>87</sup> Originally a 6,000 acre tract owned by the Bellinger

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<sup>85</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 400.

<sup>86</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 403.

<sup>87</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 451.

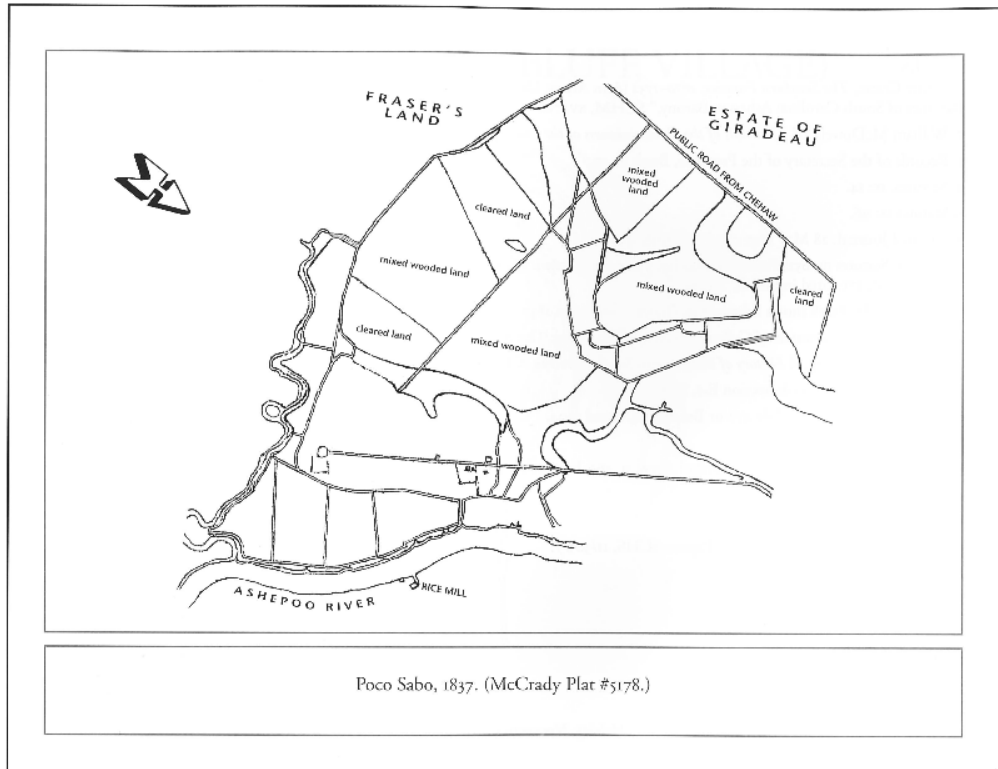


Figure 20: Poco Sabo Plantation plat, 1837. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

family, it was divided into smaller parcels, and changed ownership to the Lining family.

The earliest plat for the property is the 1837 plat, just after the Linings acquired the plantation.<sup>88</sup> Thomas Lining lived at a plantation called Gamecock Hill, next to Poco Sabo, and used it only from October to May. He lived in Walterboro the rest of the year, and there is reference to the Lining brothers all owning land next to one another.

Therefore, either Richard or Charles Lining lived on the 1,700 acre property known as Poco Sabo.<sup>89</sup> There are eight structures shown on the 1837 plat, and the Linings are listed as having sixteen enslaved workers about ten years later.<sup>90</sup> However, by the Civil War the

<sup>88</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 453.

<sup>89</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 453.

<sup>90</sup> "United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MVZ5-BB5 : 29 July 2017>), Lining, Colleton county, Colleton,

property had been sold, the Lining family went to Alabama, and Poco Sabo fell into ruin like much of Colleton County after the war.<sup>91</sup> Today, Poco Sabo is privately owned.

### Richfield Plantation

Richfield Plantation was located along the Combahee River in Beaufort County. First owned by the Ogilvie family in the late 1700s, it was quickly lost in 1774 because of the family's loyalty to the British during the Revolution. Nathaniel Heyward briefly made this one of the rice plantations in his collection, which is when the 1802 plat was drawn,

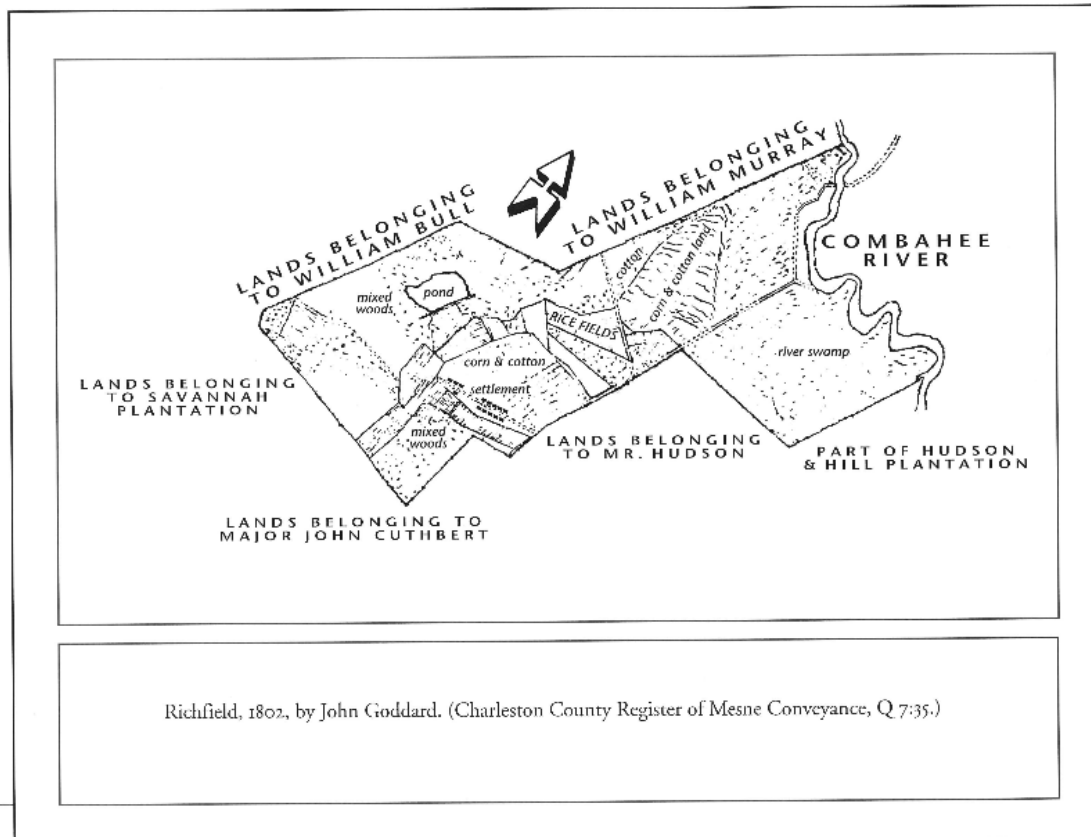


Figure 21: Richfield Plantation plat, 1802. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

South Carolina, United States; citing line number 7, NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 444,826.

<sup>91</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 454.

though he sold all 2178 acres to John Alexander Cuthbert in 1817.<sup>92</sup> The Cuthberts retained the property until the 1850s when the land was sold to John White Gregorie, who owned slightly more acreage than listed on the 1802 plat, and farmed rice and corn. There are fourteen structures on the property, which likely housed enslaved workers. There is no record of how many enslaved were on the property, until the 1850 Slave Schedule shows nineteen under the ownership of J.W. Gregorie.<sup>93</sup> Richfield Plantation did not suffer the same unfortunate fate as many ACE Basin Plantations during the Civil War because General Sherman used it as a headquarter. However, a century later it was given to C. Leigh Stevens, along with the Old Brass Tract, and Frank Lloyd Wright designed and built a new plantation house on the property, renaming the entire tract, Auldbrass.<sup>94</sup>

### **Shrubbery Plantation**

Shrubbery Plantation was in Colleton County, and was initially owned by the Godfrey family from Barbados, in the seventeenth century. For a period of time William Seabrook took ownership of the land, though ultimately it went back into the hands of the Godfreys, as William Godfrey took ownership sometime in the early nineteenth century.<sup>95</sup> At the time of his death, shortly after the 1846 plat was drawn, the land consisted of 1529 acres and produced rice, rye, corn, cotton, wool, peas, beans, sweet

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<sup>92</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 503-504.

<sup>93</sup> "United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MVZG-3B2 : 29 July 2017>), J H Gregorie, Beaufort county, Beaufort, South Carolina, United States; citing line number 38, NARA microfilm publication M432 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 444,824.

<sup>94</sup> "Richfield Plantation," (South Carolina Plantations: SCIWay, 2019), <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/beaufort/richfield.html>.

<sup>95</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 545.

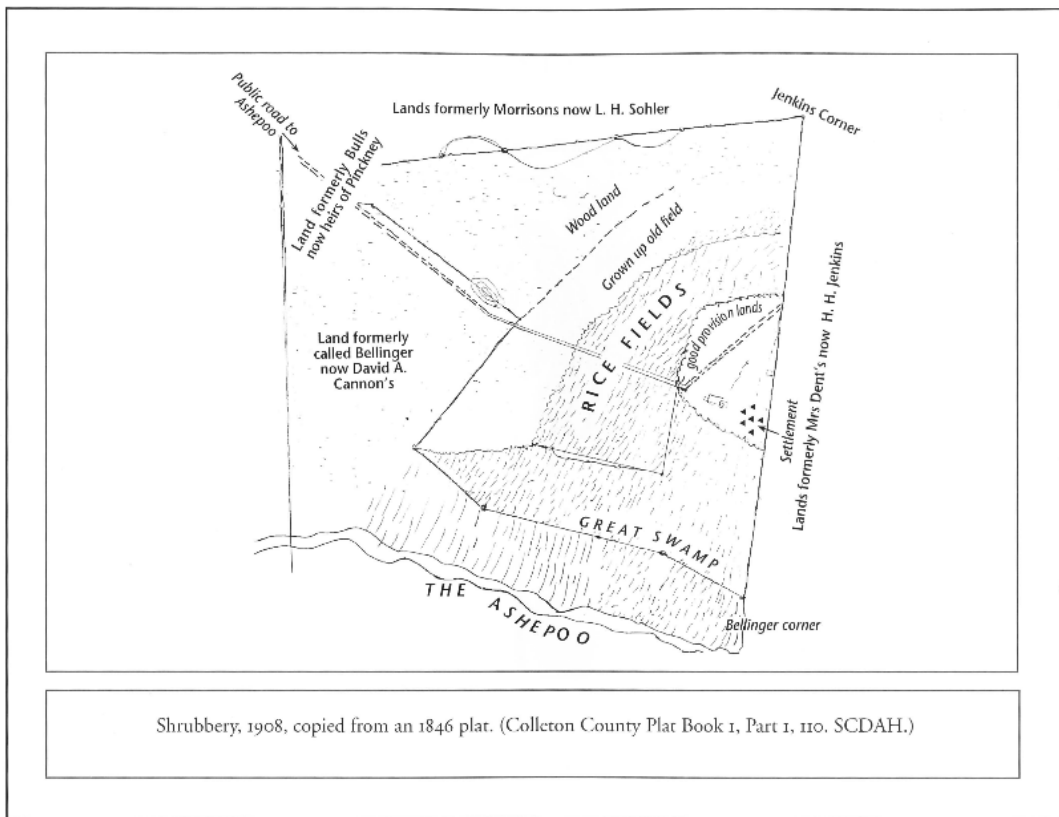


Figure 22: Shrubbery Plantation plat, 1846. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

potatoes and hay.<sup>96</sup> There were eighty-six enslaved workers, who lived and worked around the ten structures shown on the property. Early in the twentieth century, the plantation was purchased and combined with Lavington Plantation.<sup>97</sup>

### Slann's Island Plantation

Slann's Island Plantation is the second smallest of all of the plantations studied, at only 726 acres with four structures identified on the 1800 plat. Located in Charleston County, and "connected with some of the earliest settlers of the Carolina,"<sup>98</sup> it was not

<sup>96</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 545.

<sup>97</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 546.

<sup>98</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 551.

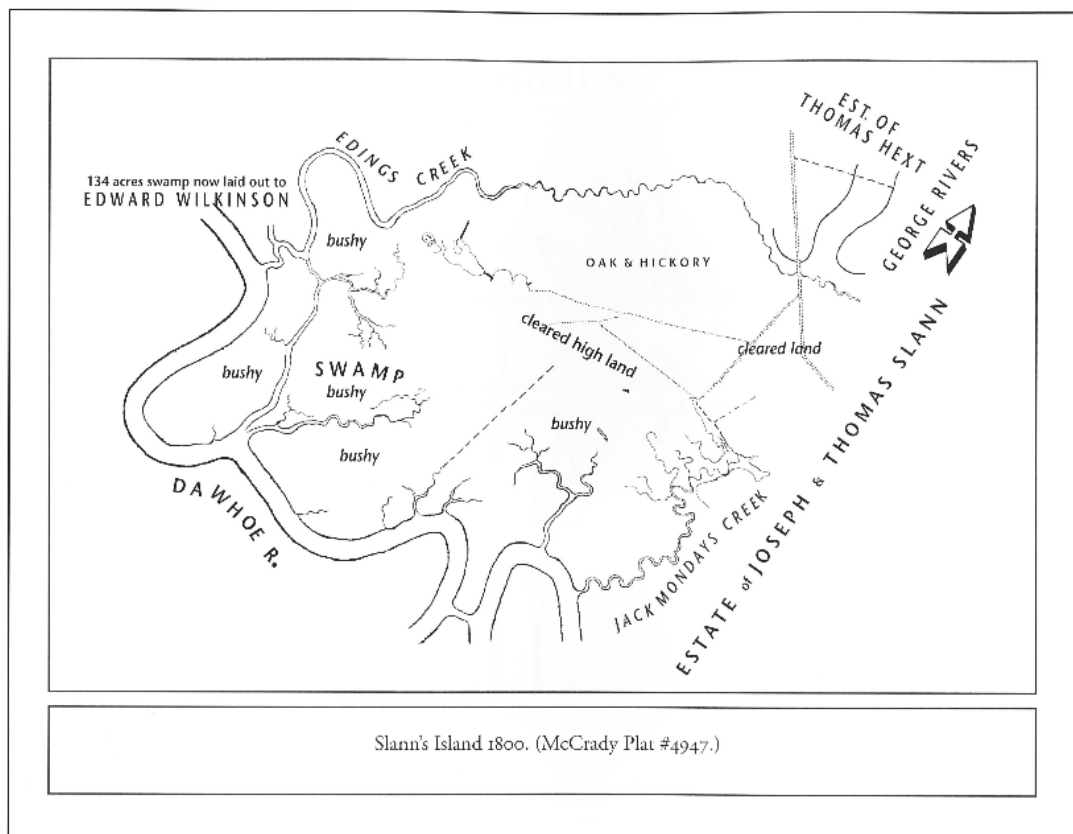


Figure 23: Slann's Island Plantation plat, 1800. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

given the name Slann's Island until 1750. In 1800, the plat was drawn under the new ownership of Morton Wilkinson, whose main interest was horse racing. Based on the 1800 US Census, there were 110 enslaved workers housed on the property.<sup>99</sup> Later in the plantation's history, William Seabrook purchased the land, gave some to his daughters, and it was passed to James Legare via marriage. Legare grew the plantation to 3150 acres by 1860, with 304 enslaved workers, corn, rice, cotton, hay, sweet potatoes, butter,

<sup>99</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 552.; "United States Census, 1800," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XH5R-WCR> : accessed 26 February 2019), M Wilkinson, St Pauls, Colleton, South Carolina, United States; citing p. 163, NARA microfilm publication M32, (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), roll 48; FHL microfilm 181,423.



horses, mules, cows, oxen, other cattle, sheep, and swine.<sup>100</sup> Very little is known about the postbellum fate of the plantation buildings, but the land is now developed as a residential area, though still has some horse farms in the immediate locale.<sup>101</sup>

### Twickenham Plantation

Twickenham Plantation is in Beaufort County, and was originally an eighteenth century tract of land that Walter Izard owned, named after the Twickenham Estate in England. The Izards passed the land through family and marriage until sometime in the

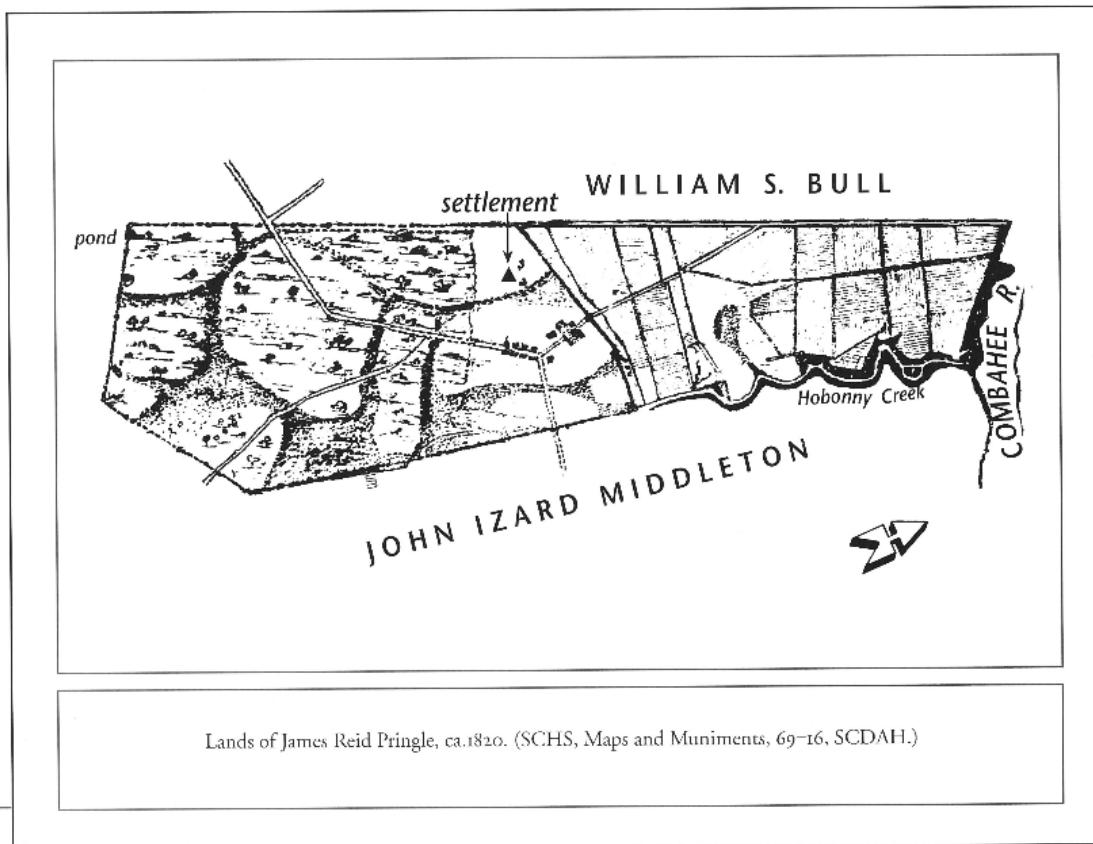


Figure 24: Twickenham Plantation plat, 1820. Found in *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin - 1860*, Suzanne Linder.

<sup>100</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 552-553.

<sup>101</sup> "Slanns Island - Town vs. County Stats," (Slanns Island Real Estate - Find Your Perfect Home For Sale! 2018, Accessed February 25, 2019), [https://www.myhomecharleston.com/areas/Slanns Island](https://www.myhomecharleston.com/areas/Slanns%20Island).

early nineteenth century, and based on the drawing of the 1820 plat pictured, the 1077 acres were owned by James Reid Pringle.<sup>102</sup> Pringle had nineteen structures on the property, and owned 120 enslaved workers. Today, Twickenham Plantation is on the market, and lists 2510 acres of land as well as a main house and auxiliary structures, though they are not original, and the land is marketed as hunting land.<sup>103</sup>

## Summary

These plantations are a small subset of the ninety-one rice plantations in the ACE Basin, but they are a fair representation of the scope of acreage, ownership and production rate of rice in the region. Therefore, while this chapter explains the places that individually define the plantations in the ACE Basin, the next chapter will explain the space that the plantations and the landscapes embody. Each of these plantations has a unique sense of place, or “value imposed upon perception of experiential use of the environment,” which is created by the people who lived there and had lives that gave life to the plantations’ narratives.<sup>104</sup> The next chapters will explain the collective spaces, which are understood as “physical dimensionality of an environment,” which is controlled by the physical bounds of the buildings and the intentional landscape, all of which ultimately determines the mechanisms and true capability of surveillance of enslaved workers.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations*, 593-595.

<sup>103</sup> "Twickenham Plantation," (Jon Kohler & Associates, 2018, Accessed February 25, 2019), <http://www.jonkohler.com/twickenham/>.

<sup>104</sup> Garrett Fesler, "Excavating the Spaces," 28-29.

<sup>105</sup> Garrett Fesler, "Excavating the Spaces," 28-29.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SURVEILLANCE AND MANAGEMENT

This chapter focuses on *how* scholars, and this study, interpret plantations as landscape and as space. The planters and enslaved workers who lived and created what archaeologist Barbara Heath has called “the constructed meaning of space through individual experiences, memories, and the specificity of landscape.”<sup>106</sup> This chapter presents the analytical elements that go into examining space, or the physical elements of landscape.<sup>107</sup> The chapter also highlights the scholars who have analyzed space on plantation, and how plantations are physical examples of the inherent and intentional desire for planters to convey power and surveillance over the majority population on the plantation—the enslaved workers.

#### **Historiography**

Scholars who have studied the plans of southern plantations discuss representation of inequalities of power and authority that underpinned slavery in the built environment. Plantation landscapes like those in the ACE Basin express the application of management systems that affirmed power relationships through incentives, threats and application of punishment, and close surveillance. Surveillance is a concept that is inherently tied to plantations, and though her work focuses predominantly on surveillance in modern architecture and prisons, Anna Vemer Andrzejewski says surveillance is the process of

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<sup>106</sup> Barbara Heath, “Space and Places within Plantation Quarters in Virginia, 1700-1825,” In Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, 159.

<sup>107</sup> Heath, “Space and Places within Plantation Quarters,” 159.

observing others in a manner that is intended to affect behavior of both parties—the surveilling party and the surveilled.<sup>108</sup> Certainly, the connection can be made from prisons to plantations. The use of this definition of surveillance is largely relevant to the fact that planters intended to transform, and then perpetuate, the submissive behavior of enslaved workers. Further, surveillance transformed planters into vigilant minders of the spaces and places under their watch in order to maintain social control.

The focus of this thesis is on white planter surveillance imposed upon enslaved workers because, quite simply, there is more work to do on this element of analysis. Architectural historians Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg state in the introduction to Ellis' contribution of their volume that, “ultimate control over the landscape remained in the hands of the enslaver.”<sup>109</sup> Therefore, it is vital to continue study of those who crafted the landscape—while enslaved workers frequently physically built the structures, it was at the direction of the planters. While enslaved workers also sought “ways to alter and even to undercut the intended effects of the processional landscape,” they ultimately were limited to “the landscape of the slave [which] was a static one of discrete places.”<sup>110</sup> Essentially, because it was a landscape constructed by white men, white men were socially educated to adhere to the social rules of maneuvering around the space and being in the space, while enslaved Africans were not tied to those same social expectations and had more flexibility in experiencing the space. But that experiential flexibility came with

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<sup>108</sup> Anna Vemer Andrrzejewski, *Building Power: Architecture and Surveillance in Victorian America*, (University of Knoxville: Tennessee Press, 2008).

<sup>109</sup> Clifton Ellis, “Building for “Our Family, Black and White” The Changing Form of the Slave House in Antebellum Virginia,” In Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, 142.

<sup>110</sup> Dell Upton, “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” In Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, 133, 134.

stipulations and threats of punishment. Moreover, though the enslaved workers in part dictated their own siting because of their dynamic role as a labor force, planters ensured that they were treated as extensions of property. They ordered settlements in rows or streets, and typically were constructed with an awareness that the dwellings reflected back on the planter.<sup>111</sup> Ultimate control remained with the planter, essentially rendering any ‘flexibility’ in fact, quite rigid.

### **Siting Dynamics**

The basis of understanding the plantation space is that the landscape was in constant tension with white landscape and black landscape, and the intersection of the two in a single community.<sup>112</sup> Whichever lens is undertaken as a focus of study, black or white, there is an opposite and differing lens at tension. However, there are nuances in each individual plantation style (and individual plantations), that make plantation landscape studies a unique and enduring topic worthy of study. The goal of a plantation is clear—to create a community in which every member was dependent on the planter, and though each member of the community was to create profitable gain for a single person, everyone was to adhere to his sole power, enhanced by his positioning at the center of the community, in power and landscape positioning.<sup>113</sup> However, the economic activities of a rice plantation are vastly different than the economic activities of a cotton, tobacco or indigo plantation. As explained in the introduction, rice cultivation is a land and labor

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<sup>111</sup> Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 127.

<sup>112</sup> Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 127.

<sup>113</sup> Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 128.

intensive process that requires specific geographies and larger labor hands relative to a cotton plantation, which may have similar acreage.

Plantation landscapes do certainly have many similarities, perhaps best described in John Vlach's *Back of the Big House*, as each chapter illuminates a specific area of the plantation landscape, and how the space was defined. For example, his discussion of 'Big House Quarters,' he explains that slave quarters were intentionally placed next to, or in front of, the planter's house to promote constant watch and convey wealth and power to those visiting.<sup>114</sup> The yard, however, was typically commanded by the enslaved workers who identified the land not as space between structures, but rather a place for activity.<sup>115</sup> The rule was more of an understanding that outdoor space was to be used for work, under the eye of a planter or overseer. Another rule was that there were always a set of outbuildings on a plantation, "Although the number and purposes of the structures on any given plantation could vary with the size of the holding and its degree of self-sufficiency."<sup>116</sup> These are all understood 'rules,' that defined the experiential and spatial arrangements on *most* plantations. These provide the understandings that there was near constant watch from planters, or overseers, and the mere presence of buildings imposed or implied watchfulness from the white inhabitants of a plantation on the black majority, as well as offered a stark lack of privacy due to the open space and clustered living.

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<sup>114</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 21.

<sup>115</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 33-34; Heath, "Space and Places within Plantation Quarters," 169.

<sup>116</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 77.

Another often pervasive element in understanding plantation space is that a planter's house was often placed on higher ground than the rest of the structures. This way, "If a planter's abode was not literally at the center of his estate, it was at least the symbolic center."<sup>117</sup> Following this logic of Euro-centric rationality, "Viewing a row of slave houses, from the outside at least, the sense of regimentation and imposed authority could be palpable."<sup>118</sup> All of these decisions about siting had to be approved by the planter, or by an overseer who was likely white, or at least an African American in a separate, intentionally stratified, 'class' of enslaved worker than the general population. Certainly, enslaved workers found methods of countersurveillance. Many used their ability to forgo social and architectural dictation to their advantage, and "their formidable demographic presence... transformed plantations into undeniably black places."<sup>119</sup> However, the landscape is contrived through the perception of power for white planters, making the landscape also undeniably white. It is this tension of white surveillance and control over the enslaved, one that demands further attention and study to truly understand the landscapes of architectural spatial design.

### **Antebellum Management**

Not only is surveillance and management of plantations a topic of currently scholarly study, they are ones that features prominently in antebellum literature and "general dissertations on 'plantation economy' ...It was also discussed in southern

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<sup>117</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 229.

<sup>118</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 164.

<sup>119</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 16-17.

newspapers, medical journals, magazines reviews, and plantation handbooks.”<sup>120</sup>

However, there were aspects of management that featured more frequently in conversation and literature than others, and often planters wrote of the most profitable way to run the plantations from an agricultural standpoint. A significant portion of this literature in southern farm journals and agricultural journals is dedicated to the suggested and ‘common’ treatment and care of enslaved workers. An underlying consequence of these discussions is the emphasis placed on developing the best manner of laying out a plantation. The layout of any plantation, whether the staple crop was rice, cotton, or tobacco, “served as the most persuasive propaganda for the celebration of the plantation ideal. Implicit in the structured layout of Georgian houses, formal gardens, and extensive stretches of fenced and cultivated fields was a strong sense of the planter’s dominance over both nature and society.”<sup>121</sup> This need for dominance reflects the planters’ inherent desire to maintain control of the plantations not only for profit purposes, but for the purpose of maintaining control of the labor force, and thus commanding exorbitant status within their social hierarchy.

A predominant mechanism to managing enslaved workers was the imposition of constant surveillance, or the threat thereof, by the planters, using techniques that ranged from active threats such as the violent methods of punishment, separation from family units and withholding of food, clothes or shelter.<sup>122</sup> On the other, less intuitive side of threatened action, many planters highlighted in James Breeden’s compilation of writings

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<sup>120</sup> Breeden, *Advice among Masters*, xix.

<sup>121</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big*, 5.

<sup>122</sup> Breeden, *Advice among Masters*, Chapter 6.



about plantation management show that their tactics included mostly benevolent behavior to encourage loyalty. For example, one planter from Mississippi explained that on his plantation, “There are two houses set apart at mid-day for resting, eating, and sleeping, if they desire it, and they retire to one of the weather-sheds or the grove to pass this time, not being permitted to remain in the hot sun while at rest.”<sup>123</sup> Another planter from Georgia, elucidated his belief that, “Among the first objects that occupy the attention of the planter in the settlement of a new place is the selection of a proper location for his buildings. This should always be done with great care and with an especial view to health.”<sup>124</sup>

Other planters explain that a given allotment of clothes, rations and option for religion and education were imperative on their plantations. Ultimately, the intention behind these efforts was to protect the profitability of the work that the enslaved workers completed each day, though a secondary motive was that providing these benefits meant a constant threat imposed on enslaved labor was having those benefits taken away. At the root of this management theory was that the *threat* of punishment that is enough to keep enslaved workers, who are largely the majority on a plantation, from rebelling against the minority white parties.

### **Control Management**

A similar concept at play with the threat of constant threat of surveillance is that threat alone was enough to prevent rebellion in many cases. Surveillance, or threat

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<sup>123</sup> Breeden, *Advice among Masters*, 67.

<sup>124</sup> Breeden, *Advice among Masters*, 19.

thereof, was a manner of imposing fear on labor forces by planters that seems to be an inherited tradition, rather than an independently learned skill. Because of this there are few explicit descriptions of the methods employed by planters to surveil their land. Though what is clear is that either the planter or overseer represented the threatening presence on plantations.

Active and passive methods of surveillance were numerous, and many scholars have laid the foundation for studying plantation space in a landscape of surveillance. Archeologist Garrett Fesler wrote that siting of architectural features on a plantation was intentional. In fact, “artifacts, features, buildings, planting holes, terraces, and other physical alterations of the environment did not function in isolation. Houses were sited for a reason...all to form an interconnected environment.”<sup>125</sup> Competing theories shaped plantation landscapes, as well as variances for different crops. Historians William Chapman and Ed Chappell explain that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, plantations in parts of the world such as the Danish West Indies and Bermuda saw changes in not only what the enslaved dwellings were made out of, but also in the configurations of dwellings. The planters used European models of plantation planning and turning to orderly, yet dense layouts of clearly defined white and black spaces.<sup>126</sup> In America, similar transitions were occurring. While some variation still existed, namely the pattern of orderliness, a trajectory of more communal and less orderly space when there was a black overseer was not uncommon. Most plantation owners, however, were

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<sup>125</sup> Fesler, “Excavating the Spaces,” 29.

<sup>126</sup> Edward A. Chappell, “Accommodating Slavery in Bermuda,” In Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, 67.; William Chapman, “Slave Villages in the Danish West Indies, Changes of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century,” In Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, 100.

choosing generally uniform, rational placement of structures.<sup>127</sup> More descriptively, Clifton Ellis describes common conceptual dialogue between antebellum slaveholders in the south in the changing landscape:

Acknowledging their obligation to the welfare of their enslaved workforce, Southern planters exhorted one another to build substantial single-family units for their slaves, most often advising a linear arrangement of double rows of houses with the overseer's house and agricultural outbuildings at one end.<sup>128</sup>

Simply put, plantation owners all sought similar goals regardless of their crop. They wanted to exert control, power and social superiority to their workers and other community members.

### **Surveillance and Space**

This landscape analysis shows a perceived threat of constant surveillance may have been only that, perceived. More importantly, it shows that plantations are a uniquely difficult landscape to analyze. Despite claims that landscape studies should move towards urban areas, this thesis shows that there is much more work to be done, particularly on rice plantations. As Fesler points out in regards to plantation studies already completed, “Historical sources tend to reveal what we already know: most enslaved people circulated within the confines of a highly regulated world, whether on plantations, on farms.”<sup>129</sup> He continues to say that enslaved workers had little circulation of movement around a plantation that did not lead them in view of the planter's house. This gave them

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<sup>127</sup> Fesler, “Excavating the Spaces,” 32.

<sup>128</sup> Clifton Ellis, “Building for “Our Family, Black and White” The Changing Form of the Slave House in Antebellum Virginia,” In Ellis and Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation*, 142.

<sup>129</sup> Fesler, “Excavating the Spaces,” 29.

opportunity to not only have an experiential understanding of the landscape, but also a perception of how they were to interpret the landscape. The study that has not been completed is a one that shows surveillance as a perception, specifically using rice plantations across a broader landscape.

## Summary

Ultimately, it is important to remember that any manner of control or surveillance implemented by the planters was an effort to protect their economic investment, their enslaved workers. Planters disenfranchised enslaved workers and used them for hard, manual labor and economic gain, with little regard for anything but the protection of their own property. Vlach wrote near the end of his book that:

Because it is often the case that only the mansion houses remain, the impression conveyed by plantation sites today is exclusively one of wealth and easy comfort. Because the slave quarters and various work spaces are frequently missing, how such splendor and comfort were sustained remains something of a mystery.<sup>130</sup>

It is not only the quarters and spaces that are missing, but the understandings of how planters utilized the architecture to assert control. Planters manipulated hundreds of people into constant submission, all while fearing their own possibility of losing control. Therefore, their landscape reflects their need for assurance, and their hope that “everything shall be kept in its place” so as to make sure they maintained the control in the tenuous societal structure.<sup>131</sup> The study of rice plantations revealed patterns that

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<sup>130</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 183.

<sup>131</sup> Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, 228.

further analysis of this landscape of tenuous power, though disputes the concept that surveillance was physically employed as a primary means of control.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ANALYSIS AND PATTERNS

The analysis of these nineteen plats of antebellum rice plantations in the South Carolina Lowcountry yielded new findings to the field of plantation landscape analysis and confirmed theories already in place.

#### **Analysis**

Each of these three main categories were used to break the list of plantations into quartiles for closer analysis. For acreage, the lowest quartile included Hermitage, Slann's Island, Lewisburg, Green Point, and Twickenham Plantation with a range of 410 to 1077 acres of land. The second quartile included Newton, Newport, Cattell Island, Jehossee, and Shrubbery Plantations with a range of 1092-1529 acres. The third quartile is made up of Poco Sabo, Richfield, Hope, Butler's Island and Oakland Plantations, ranging from 1700 to 3005 acres. Finally, the uppermost quartile includes the region's largest plantations, Airy Hall, Bonny Hall, Blandford, and Barings Plantations and range from 3221 to 4555 acres.

In terms of structures, Slann's Island, Barings, Poco Sabo, Shrubbery and Green Point make up the lowest quartile with a range of four to ten structures on the plantations. The second is Lewisburg, Richfield, Hermitage, Twickenham, and Newton with eleven to nineteen. The third is Hope, Oakland, Blandford, Airy Hall, and Butler's Island with twenty to thirty structures. And the last quartile is Cattell Island, Newport, Bonny Hall, and Jehossee with a range of thirty-three to ninety-eight.

For the number of enslaved workers, Poco Sabo, Airy Hall, Richfield, Oakland,

and Hermitage range from sixteen to fifty enslaved workers in the first quartile.

Shrubbery, Cattell Island, Lewisburg, Hope, and Slann's Island range from eighty-six to 110 enslaved workers. Twickenham, Barings, Newton, Butler's Island and Newport are in the third quartile and range from 120 to 224 enslaved workers. Finally, Green Point, Blandford, Bonny Hall and Jehossee make up the uppermost quartile with a range of 231 to 700 enslaved workers.

When calculated, the average for each of the data points, the acreage, number of enslaved workers and number of structures, fell into the third quartile numeric range. The average acreage for plantations is 1970 acres, while the average number of structures is 23.6, and the average number of enslaved workers are 172.6. Butler's Island Plantation in third quartile and Bonny Hall in the fourth quartile are the only plantations who remain in the same quartile under each data point, each of the other 17 plantations moves between quartiles for each point. These number heavy sections show us that plantations have dynamic characteristics under analysis of number of enslaved works, acreage and number of structures. Only two of the nineteen plantations remain consistent relative to the averages, showing that the plantations in the ACE Basin were extremely varied across the measured characteristics. Essentially, these were large holdings with large labor forces in rural isolated settings where enslaved workers significantly outnumbered white planters and overseers. It is in this context that analysis sought evidence of surveillance.

The data collected included, the acreage of each plantation, the number of enslaved workers, the number of structures evident on the plantation, and the number of those identified structures that were related to enslaved workers, rather than the

planter.<sup>132</sup> In every case there was only one or two structures associated with the planter—a plantation house and/or an overseer’s house. Interestingly, the number of acres, number of enslaved workers and number of buildings are only loosely correlated to one another (Figure 25). The number of enslaved workers on a plantation closely related more to the number of slave houses on the plantation, than either variable related to the amount of acreage in the landholding. This is seen as the amount that the number of enslaved worker (orange) trend line increases as the number of structures (grey) trend line increases, though the acreage (blue) line is significantly less dynamic. This could be that there were different styles of dwellings for enslaved workers, some housed more people. Plantations that show an increase in enslaved workers, but a less sharp increase in the number of structures could have had dwellings that housed more enslaved workers in one structure. Further, the acreage of the plantation includes arable and unusable space, and much of the marshes that are used for rice cultivation could not hold the infrastructure for a whole settlement. Therefore, developable acreage is significantly lower than the full acreage, and there are fewer structures on some plantations despite there being a large landholding.

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<sup>132</sup> Based on available plats, see this charts in Appendix C.



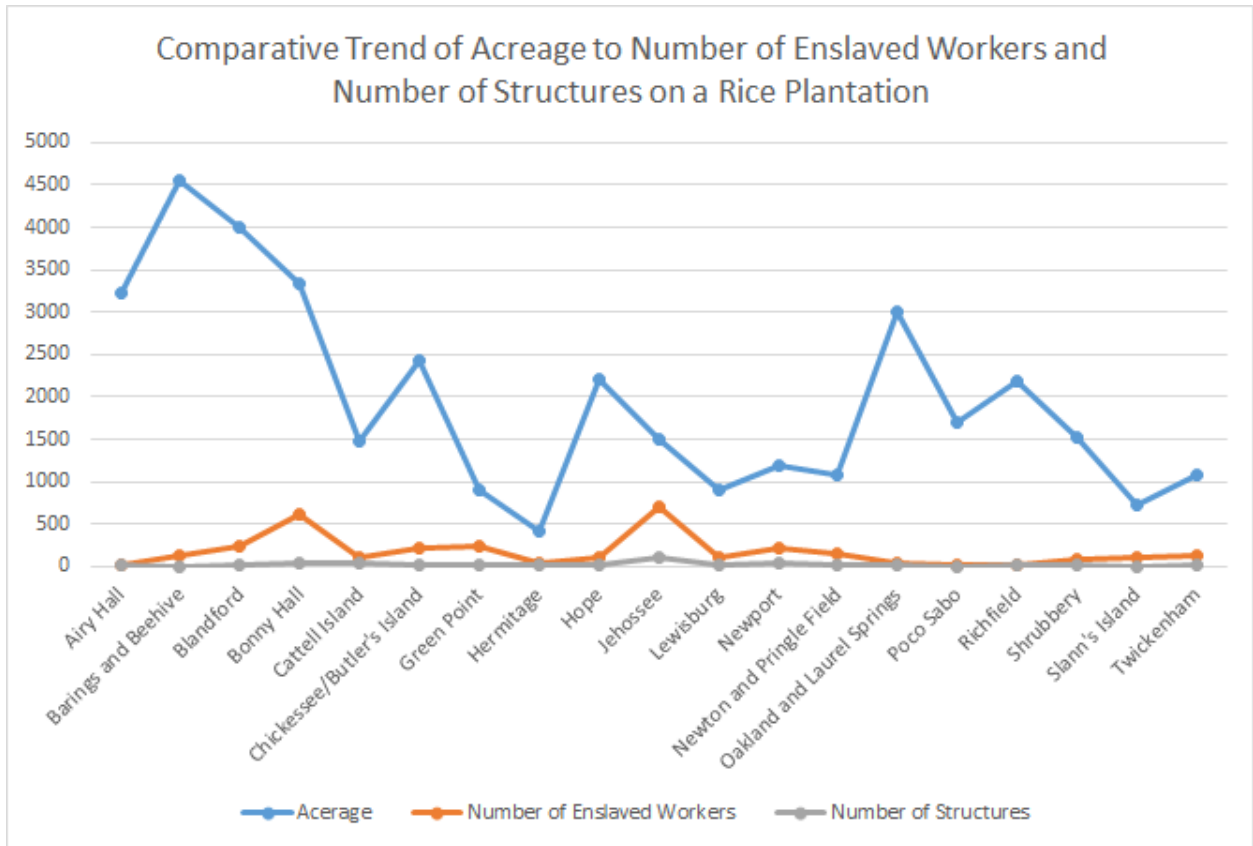


Figure 25: Graph comparing the acreage, number of enslaved workers and number of structures on each plantation in the study.

All of this data contributed to discussing the plantations further, as the 3D SketchUp models allowed for analysis on a closer level. This analysis was broken into three levels, in which one number shows the number of dwellings at all visible, no matter how small the portion of the building (blue line), the second number shows the number of dwellings that have one full face visible (orange line), and the third shows the number of dwellings that have two full faces visible (grey line) from the planters' house (Figure 26). The number of dwellings in a settlement visible from the main house on all of the plantations ranged from 8.33% to 100%. More in depth analysis of the range and ranks of the plantations, and the number of buildings visible from the main house is in the next

section.

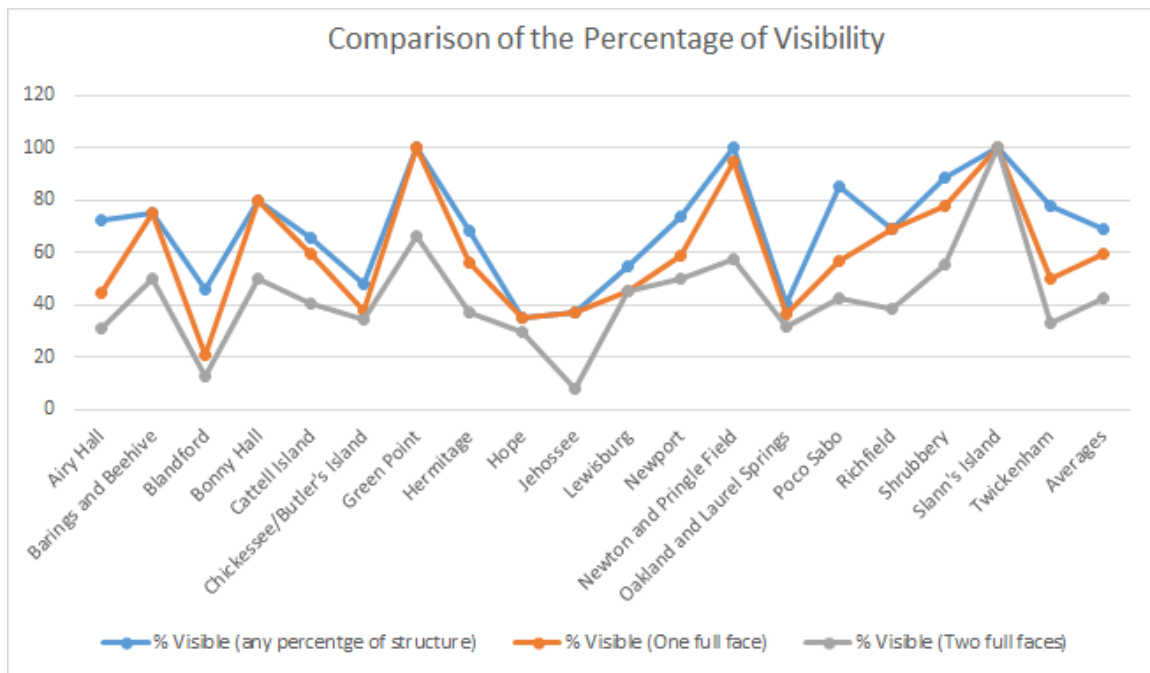


Figure 26: Graph showing the percentages of visibility for each of the plantations in the study. It shows the visibility range of the number of structures that are partially visible, have one full face of a structure visible and have two full faces visible.

## Case Study Analysis

Though all of the plantations underwent this analysis, the discussion in this chapter will use three plantations to highlight the results of the data.<sup>133</sup> It will focus on a plantation that has the most buildings visible from the main house, a plantation representative of the average, and a plantation representative of the fewest structures visible from the main house.

<sup>133</sup> See Appendices A and B for the scaled plats and SketchUp models of all plantations in the study.

Slann's Island Plantation had 100% of the slave dwellings visible from the planter's house to the enslaved workers' structures for all three categories; any v, one full face visible and two full faces visible (Figures 27 and 28). This was exceptionally abnormal, as no other plantation have 100% of the slave dwellings visible in all three categories. The plantations with the next largest number of visible dwellings, Green Point Planation and Shrubbery Plantation, had 12%-45% fewer buildings visible than Slann's Island Plantation. The scaled plat is shown below, as well as the images from the modeling that highlight the visible faces of the structures. This high level of surveillance potential is likely because of the extremely small number of structures on the plat, and

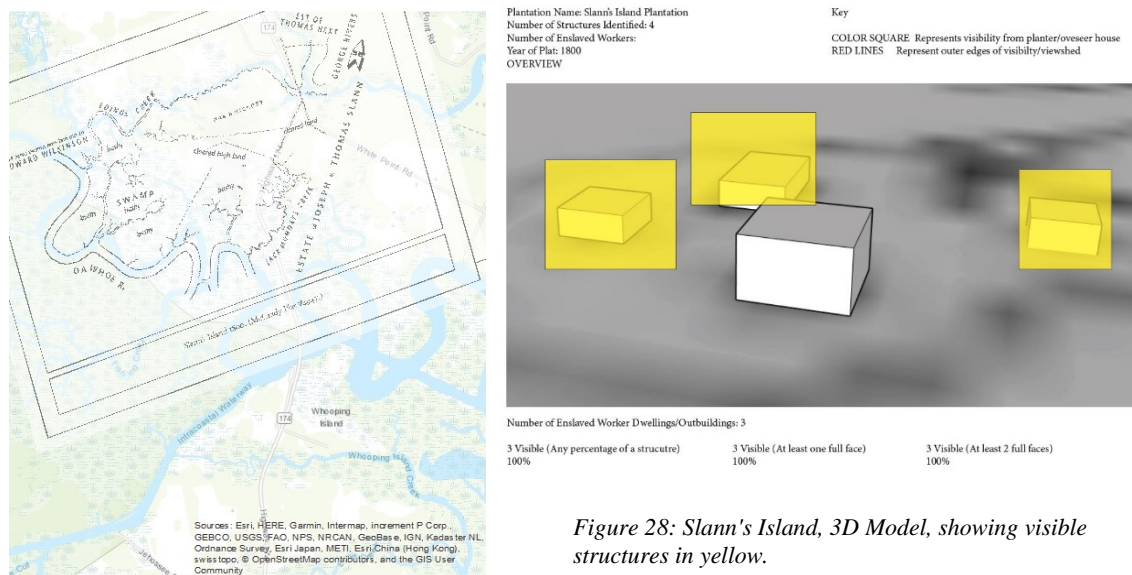


Figure 27: Slann's Island, Scaled plat

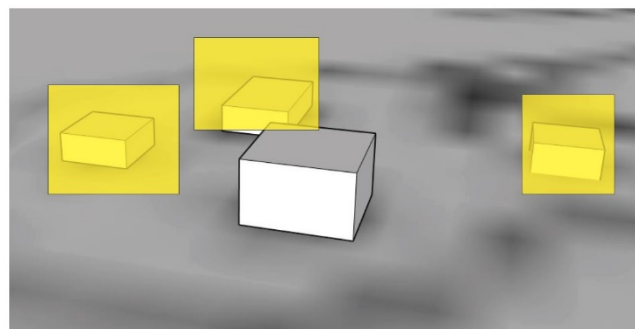


Figure 28: Slann's Island, 3D Model, showing visible structures in yellow.

clear sight lines allowed closer

surveillance.<sup>134</sup> With only four slave dwellings present, it is much less complicated to configure the plantation for efficient surveillance than with more structures. For example, Jehossee Plantation had ninety-eight structures. Quarters at Slann's Island fall within about fifty-two feet away from the planter's house, again drastically increasing visibility of the settlement. So, while there is high visibility, there is also the potential that other motives, such as proximity, drove the arrangement of structures which coincidentally led to high surveillance capability with high number of buildings visible.

Hermitage Plantation is representative of average ranges for number of dwellings visible from the main plantation house (Figures 29 and 30). Hermitage had 68.75% of the structures visible in any capacity from the plantation house, and 56.25% of those had one full face visible. This plantation only had 37.5% of the enslaved workers' quarters visible with two full faces from the plantation house. The buildings are set less a fifty-two feet away from the planter's house. This indicates that the distance did not obstruct view, and that distance is not one of the limiting factors in number of buildings visible. The arrangement of the structures was the inhibiting factor in the capability to have clear sightlines from the plantation house to the settlement.

The quarters, which are not visible are blocked by other structures, not by landscape features such as changes in topography (a hill or valley), nor trees or other plantings used to screen visibility. It is interesting to note that this plantation falls below

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<sup>134</sup> It is also important to note that while there are only four structures noted on the plat, it is likely there were more structures on the plantation due to the high number of enslaved workers. Though some settlements had dwellings for enslaved workers that could house multiple families, it is unlikely that each dwelling would house over 30 enslaved workers, as would have to be the case with this plantation configuration.

the average for acreage, number of enslaved workers, and number of structures on the property, just like Slann's Island fell below the average for number of structures.

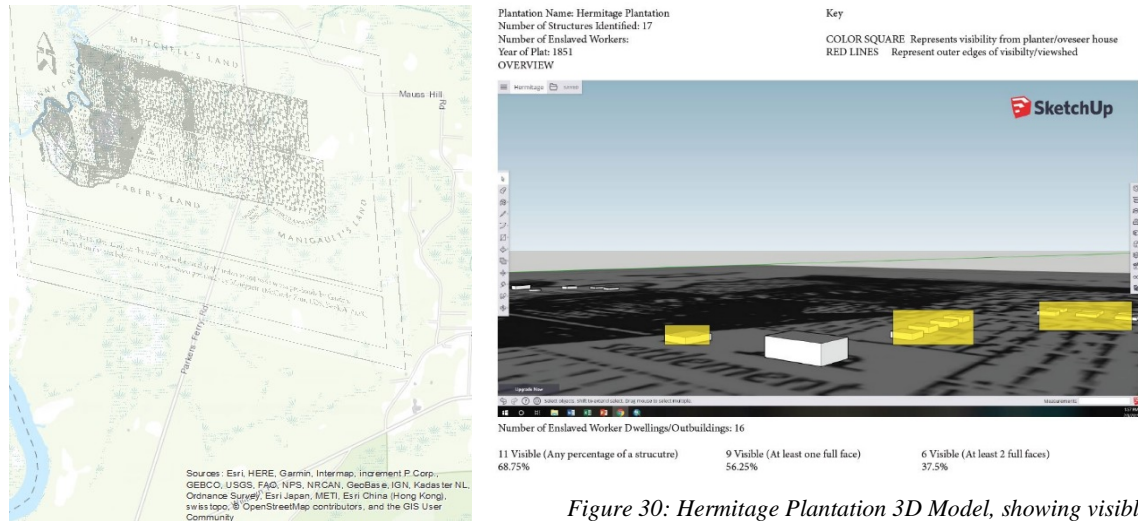


Figure 29: Hermitage Plantation, scaled plat.

Figure 30: Hermitage Plantation 3D Model, showing visible structures in yellow

However, Hermitage Plantation still falls closer to average visibility. Other plantations with similar levels of visibility are Cattell Island and Richfield, both of which fall just slightly above or strikingly below average for number of enslaved workers and structures. This group of plantations shows again that there is great variation in the configuration and landscape of these plantations, despite similar patterns in development.

Finally, Jehossee Island is the representation of the plan with least ability to surveil, with 37.5% of the slave quarters visible from the planter's house from a perspective of both any visibility, and one full face visible. In accounting for two full faces being visible, only 8.33% of the structures fell into that category (Figure 31). This can be attributed to the disproportionately high number of structures on the plantation, at

98 structures for 700 enslaved workers, the most of any plantation in those two categories. The number of structures affects the number of visible dwellings in a settlement because when developed in linear or grid-like settlements, the first building in a row is visible. However, this structure then blocks the view of the structures behind it. It is also interesting to note that this plantation is set up so that the planter's house was seventeen tenths of a mile from the overseer's house, and had low visibility to the enslaved settlements. If accounting for the oak allee that was on the property, then the visibility from the planter's house may be even lower than 8.33%. There are three different settlements of enslaved works, one set eleven tenths of a mile from the overseer's house, another set half a mile from the overseer's house, and the last set one mile and two tenths from the overseer's house, which contributes to the small percentage of visibility, as none of the structures a mile away are visible. Therefore, even visibility from the overseer's house is extremely below average.

Overall, the data and visual analysis conclude that planters did not configure plantations based on the ability to surveil the highest number of dwellings of enslaved

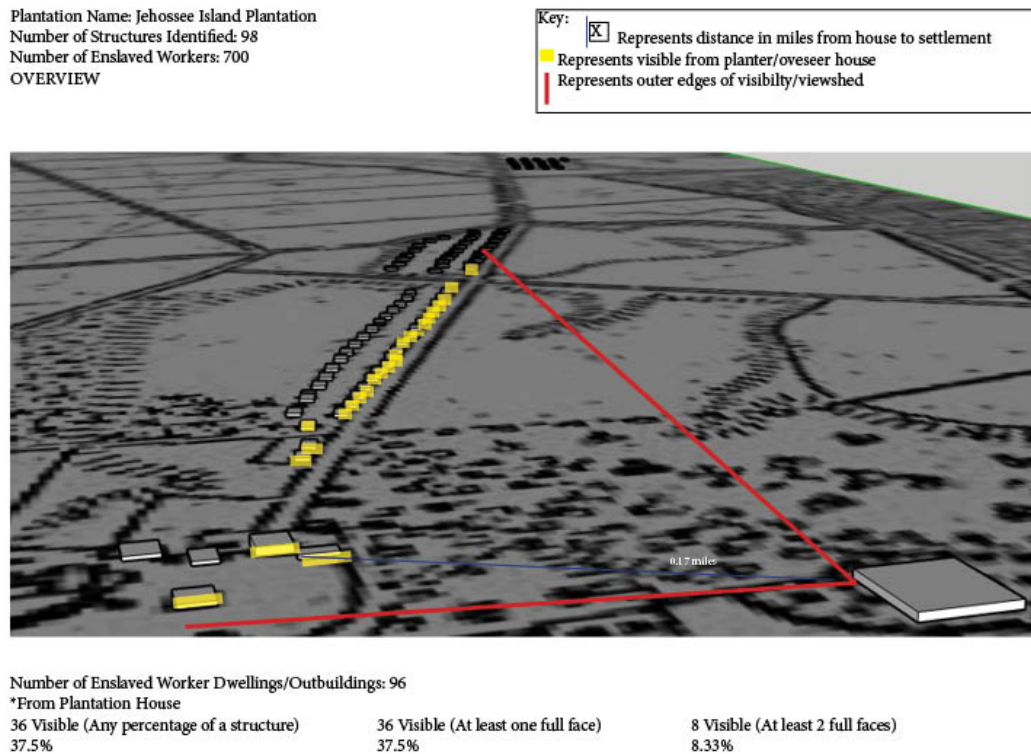


Figure 31: Jehossee Island Plantation 3D Model, showing visible structures in yellow

workers. The averages for the percentage of visibility for structures that have two full faces visible is only 42.98%, which means that less than 50% of the structures inhabited and used by enslaved workers are visible to the planter or overseer.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this information: first, the planters did not have the scope of surveillance using lines of sight that they assumed they did, or that many scholars assumed they did. Second, if the planters were aware of the lack of sightlines on their landscape, then surveillance was not the main management tool used to

maintain minority control over the majority population.

### **Summary**

Rice plantations were different from cotton, tobacco and other crop plantation. This was true in that the planters needed larger work forces. The geography was different. However, the physical configuration of structures was similar, with linear and grid like patterns noted for most rice plantations in the study, implying the typologies of the space were the same from plantation to plantation, regardless of the crop or region. However, it was the interaction on the landscape between the buildings, the labor size, the geography and the topography that determined the insignificance of surveillance using sightlines to perpetuate the perception surveillance using sightlines. Arrangements of buildings and structures disproved the hypothesis that the landscape highlighted true surveillance as a management technique. Instead, the landscape limited surveillance, but perpetuated orderliness. Power and control on the rice plantations in the ACE Basin consisted of the white minority subjugating the enslaved majority to powerlessness in many instances, yet the planters were severely limited in their ability to surveil.



## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

#### **Patterns**

This thesis confirmed one of the long standing understandings of plantation studies that planters used one another as guides in laying out their own plantation landscape. However, this study contests some points, namely the assertion that planters developed their buildings to surveil all enslaved workers. After scaling each plat and modeling the plantations from the ACE Basin, it was apparent that the tendency, even in rice plantations, was to develop plantations based on Euro-American ideals of orderliness. That is planters typically used linear and grid patterns to organizing their enslaved quarters. There was no distinct pattern based on cardinal orientation or geographic feature that defined the grouping patterns found on the rice plantations. Rather, the main house and the settlements were constructed oriented to the roads that accessed the land on natural ridges and, sometimes, higher ground.

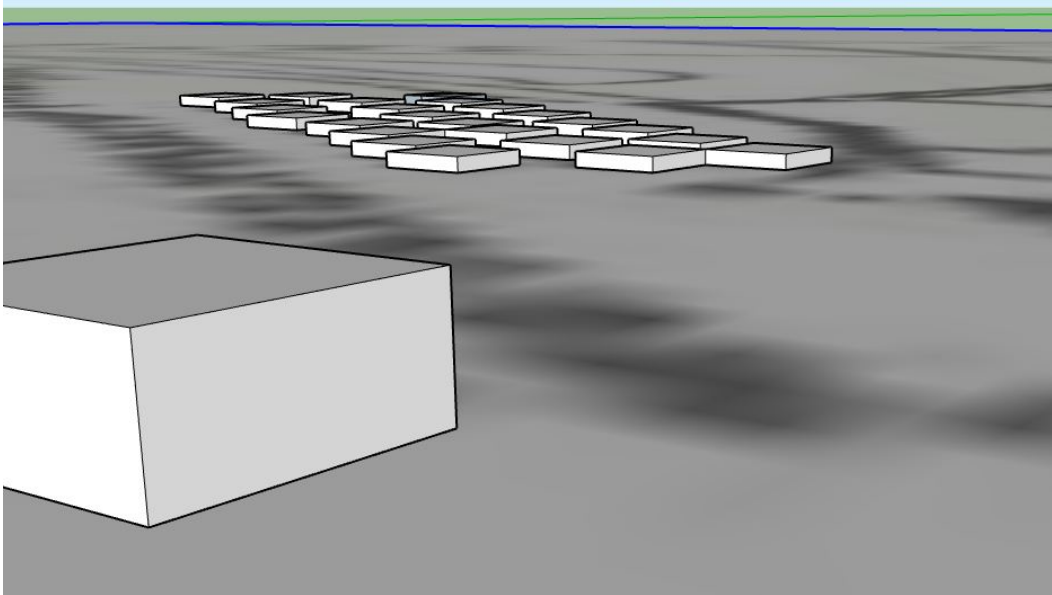
The resulting landscape can be attributed to the fact that while some planters used spatial arrangements to assert power by locating quarters in front of their houses, other planters used more discrete siting, behind their house.<sup>135</sup> In this study, six of the nineteen plantations hid the settlements away from main access road leading to the main house. The remaining thirteen planters organized the settlements in view of the front of the main house, or with clear access to the road. Because of a lack of correlation between acreage, number of enslaved workers and number of structures with the characteristics of

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<sup>135</sup> Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 127.

plantation layout, the conclusion was made that perhaps these variations were based on personal needs, or geographical limitation. Essentially, the ACE landscapes varied plantation to plantation based on acreage, workforce, and geographical boundaries. Though there seemed to be no rule as to how specifically address variations.<sup>136</sup>

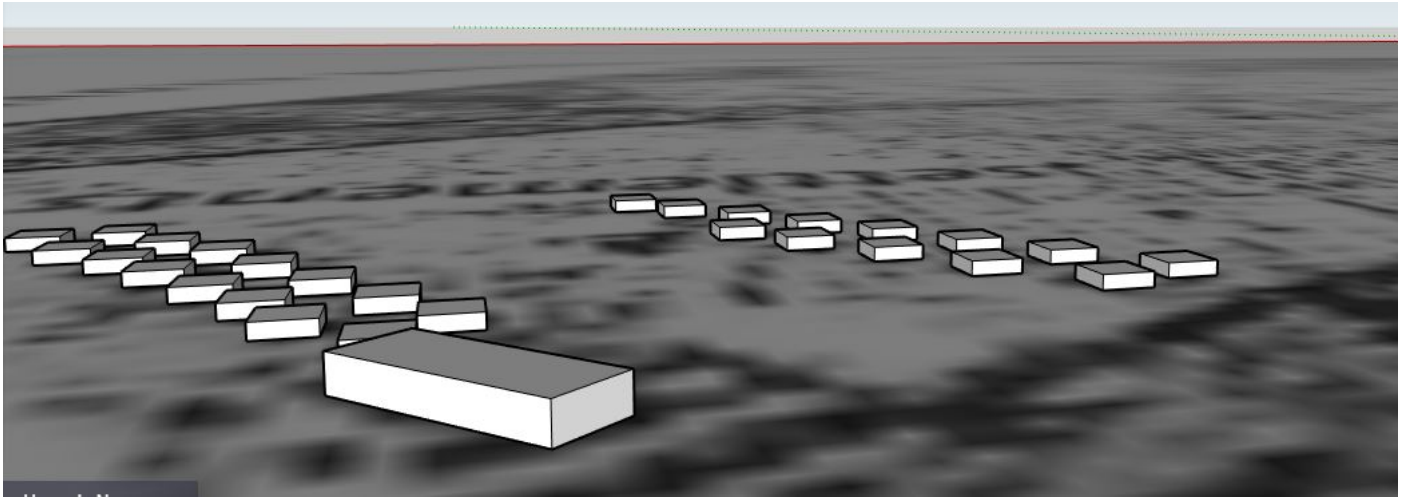
Further, while there were examples of settlements in a cluster, in a single line, side by side, and three across, there was no distinct pattern to which of these was chosen—size of plantation or labor force was not consistent across any of the configurations (Figures 32-35).



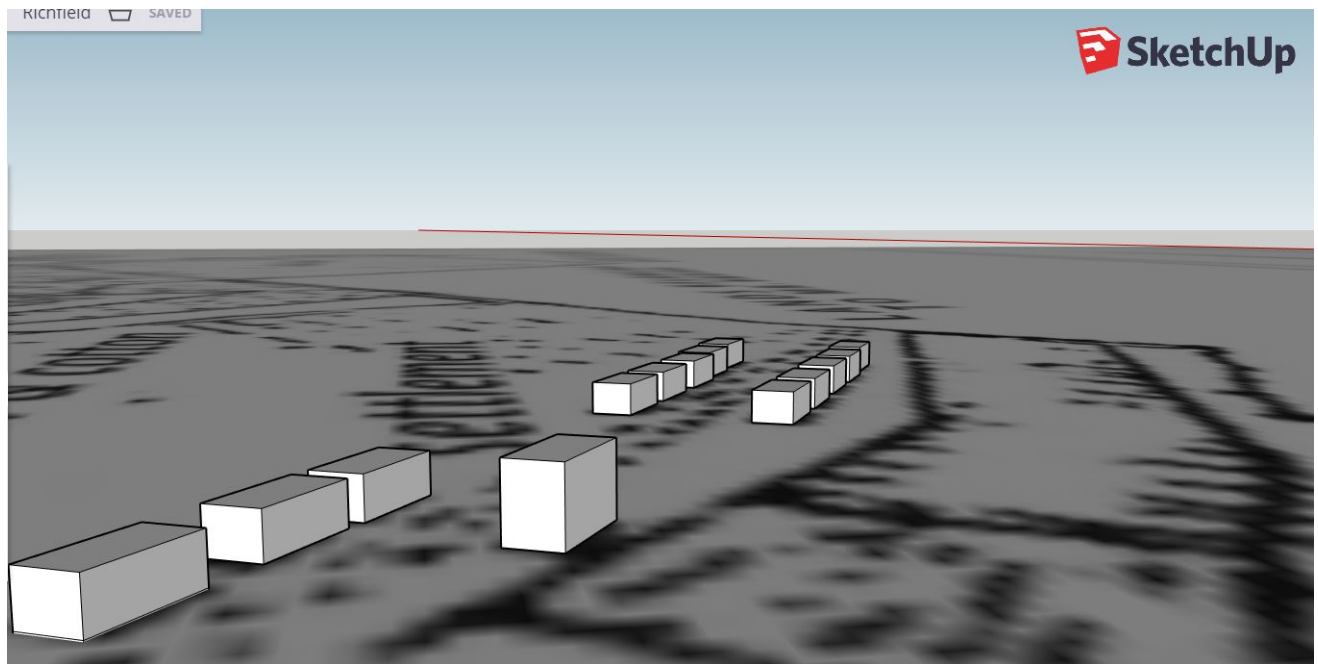
*Figure 32: Blandford Plantation, example of "three across" linear plantation settlement configuration.*

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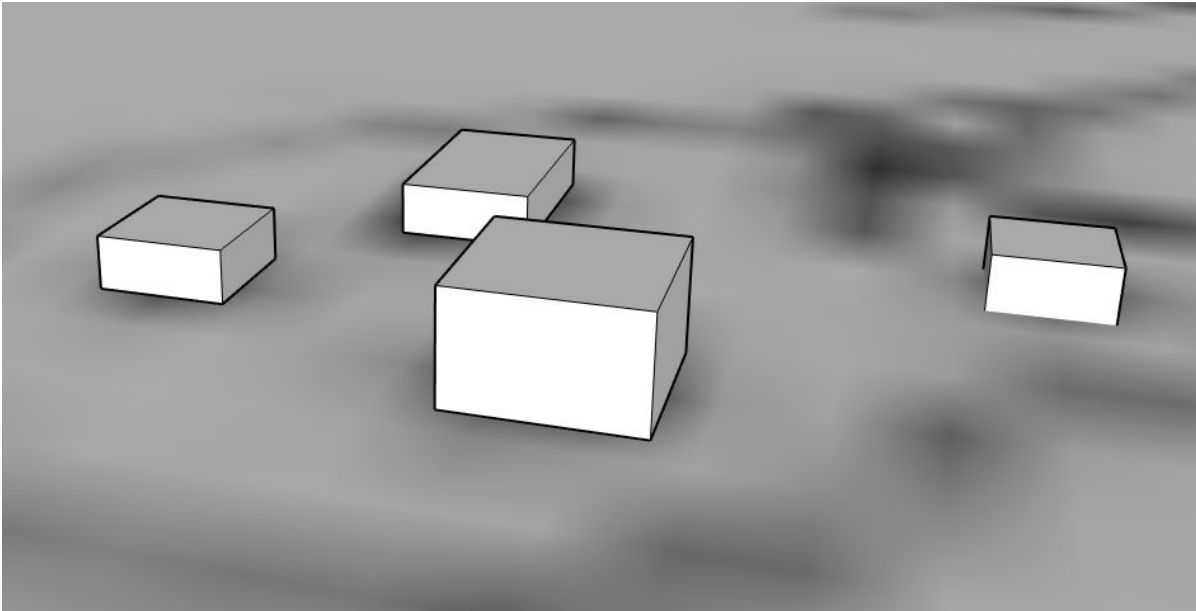
<sup>136</sup> The dates of each of the plantation plats was used as a sorting mechanism for the data and patterns, and it was determined that there was no specific pattern based on period of the plantation development. See Appendix C-6 for this data distribution.



*Figure 33: Butler's Island Plantation, example of side by side plantation settlement configuration.*



*Figure 34: Richfield Plantation, example of single line plantation settlement configuration.*



*Figure 35: Slann's Island, example of scattered plantation settlement configuration.*

There was a strong indication that the majority of planters laid out plantations with attention to rational order. The desire for linear and ordered settlements for enslaved workers actually minimized the number of unobstructed sightlines from the planter to the enslaved workers on rice plantations. With few exceptions, the South Carolina topographical landscape along the coast varies so distinctly from states like Virginia and North Carolina. The Lowcountry has a comparatively low elevation, with the highest point in the ACE Basin not too far above sea level. Some planters found higher bluffs on which to place the plantation house and achieved a vantage of 'looking down' on the settlements of enslaved workers. In most cases, however, this high ground ideal was largely unachievable due to the landscape used for rice cultivation.

This strict adherence to linear and gridded settlements perhaps an effort to control, also imposed Euro-American architectural ideals on enslaved workers. Perhaps

there was there was an understood compromise limiting viewshed and lines of sight in favor of imposition of other plantation characteristics, like orderliness. Conversely, maybe the planters were unknowingly using a less powerful method of landscape surveillance. Planters all over the world utilized the gridded and linear plantation layout seen in the ACE Basin for decades. The precedent of control over enslaved workers existed so strongly using those methods, maybe planters just assumed they were using the most efficient method. It is probable South Carolina rice planters took inspiration from the legacies of planters from other American and Caribbean colonies, and from their experiences and layouts of the inland rice culture. All of these regions have varied geographical planes for which to create hierarchical lands of surveillance and power, but South Carolina does not have that topographical capability which perhaps led to the low visibility.

## **Conclusions**

### *Finding One: Proximity of Structures*

There was a relatively uniform proximity from the plantation house to the dwellings of enslaved workers, or other structures. Though the number of buildings in a settlement surrounding the main house varied, the buildings fell between about fifty feet to about 1000 feet away from the primary structure on the plantation. This converts to distances of about fifty feet to 1000 feet from the planter's house to the dwellings of the enslaved workers. There were few exceptions to this pattern. Half a mile separated from the overseer's house from the middle settlement on Jehossee Island. The overseer's house to the farthest grouping of slave dwellings was slightly more than one mile apart. At

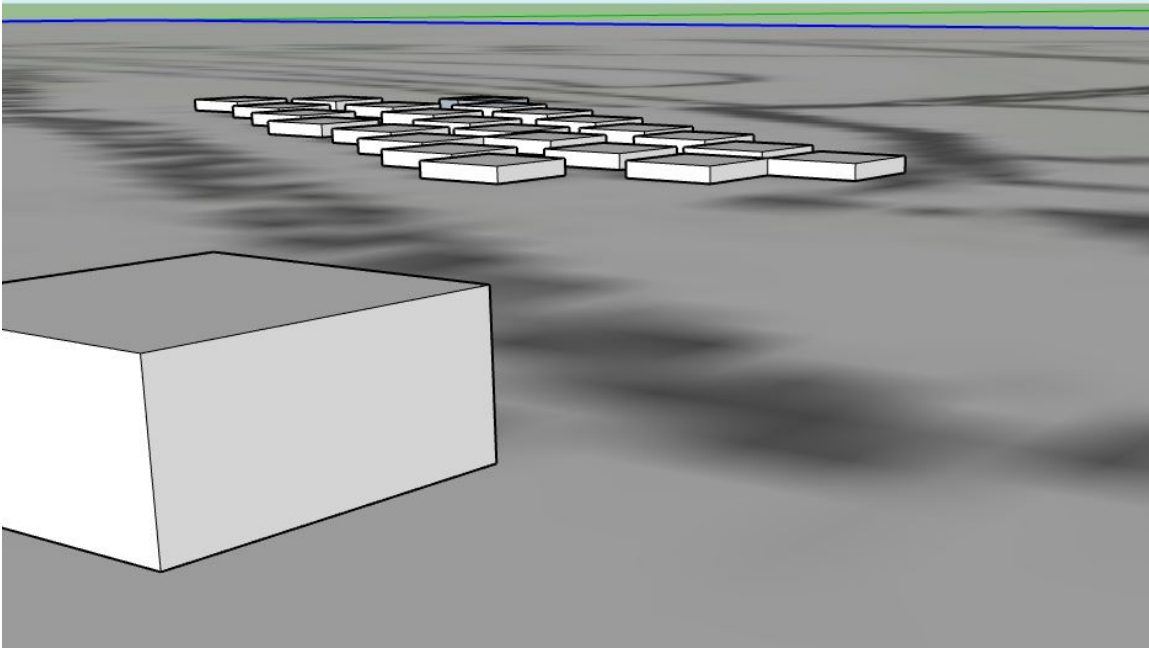
Barings Plantation, the settlement for enslaved workers was situated almost three miles from the planter's house. Three of the nineteen settlements on plantations were constructed at distances of 500 feet to 1500 feet from the main house. Settlements at fifteen of the plantations were built less than one tenth of a mile from the planter's house, which made this a predominant pattern in the layout of the plantations. Slave dwellings were intentionally set very close to planter's and overseer's residences. At 78.9% of the plantations, the distance did not exceed one hundred feet. Plantations with close dwellings had higher surveillance capabilities than plantations with farther dwellings. Planters sought proximity from the main houses to the settlements of dwellings to increase surveillance capability.

#### *Finding Two: Orientation of Structures*

A second finding patterns the orientation of structures in the settlements to the street and other structures. Also, settlements on the plantations had structures that were either scattered in irregular configurations, or linearly placed with a specific orientation to a main road on the plantation. If the settlement had structures that were linearly placed, the buildings were either diagonally angled to the street or placed square to the street. At three of the nineteen plantations, Newport, Oakland, and Slann's Island, the dwellings in the settlements were scattered around the plantation house in a nonlinear fashion, aligned to the axis of the plantation house.<sup>137</sup> Dwellings at sixteen of the plantations were oriented towards a street, road or the plantation house in a linear pattern. However, the

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<sup>137</sup> See Appendices A and B for all plats and models-Newport, Oakland, and Slann's Island



*Figure 36: Blandford Plantation, dwellings of enslaved workers oriented in an angle towards the street.*

buildings assumed two distinct patterns (Figures 36 and 37). Structures at eight of the plantations were angled diagonally to the street so that a corner of the building pointed towards the street, as seen at Blandford Plantation.<sup>138</sup> At the other eight plantations, structures were squared to the street with the ridge of the roof parallel to the street, as

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<sup>138</sup> See Appendices A and B for all plats and models- Also Airy Hall, Barings, Blandford, Butler's Island, Green Point, Newton, Shrubbery, and Twickenham

seen in the plat for Hermitage Plantation.<sup>139</sup> There appeared to be no correlation between the choice to angle or square the structure to the street and the population of enslaved workers or number of structure. It follows that this equal distribution of angled versus squared structures to the street is a matter of design by the planter.

### *Finding Three: Lines of Sight to Structures*

Finally, the ACE Basin rice plantations represented the potential for clear lines of sight, though fewer than initially hypothesized. The red lines on the models showed the boundaries that lines of sight would have occurred in, and led from the planter's house to the visible buildings and central space. The previous chapter explained that there was some level of visibility from the planter's house to the dwellings of enslaved workers at every plantation. At every single plantation, planter or overseer would have had at least one location in which there was an unobstructed view of the settlement—there is no

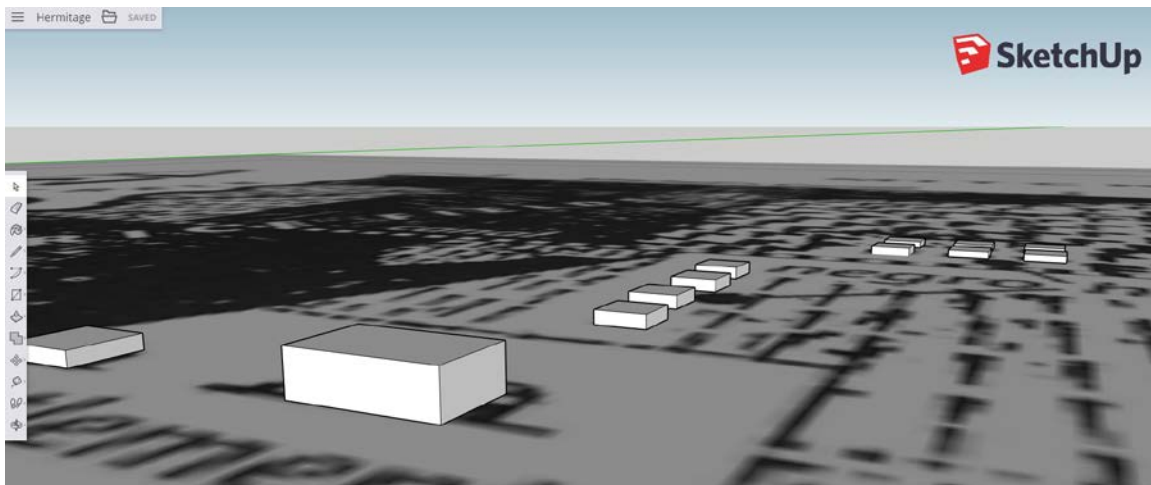


Figure 37: Hermitage Plantation, dwellings of enslaved workers oriented straight towards the street.

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<sup>139</sup> See Appendices A and B for all plats and models-Also Bonny Hall, Cattell Island, Hermitage, Hope, Jehossee, Lewisburg, Poco Sabo and Richfield



plantation with 0% visibility. However, there is overall relatively low visibility on the part of the planter's surveillance power. There was an average percentage of visibility, showing that 69.4% of all structures were in any way visible, 59.8% of the plantations observed at least one full face of a building visible and 42.9% of the structures had two full faces visible. There is a tension between what was seen and not seen, as well as what was *perceived* as seen and not seen—because ultimately, only about half of the space in a settlement was visible to the planter.

### **Orderliness over Surveillance**

A derivation of all of these conclusions is that surveillance was not the motivating factor behind siting and configuring plantation quarters. The prevailing pattern in the plantation configurations was the orderliness of the linear spatial arrangements of the settlements, relative to the roads and the main house. Even in the equal distribution of angled versus straight on dwellings in settlements, this seemed to create more of a shelter from visibility, rather than enhance visibility. From this standpoint, a main motivator seemed to be imposing a sense of orderliness from geometric arrangements. Rather than landscapes arranged to prioritize visibility, there seem to be other systemic and social forces at play. Instead of moving buildings out of alignment, which would increase visibility, buildings remained in lines that cast 'sight shadows' limiting visibility, or areas that prohibit surveillance.

This research shows that plantations do all follow relative patterns. In the case of rice plantations, there seems to be a large number of dwellings, all centered around the

main planter or overseer's house, and most structures are oriented linearly towards to the street. This ensures that there are lines of sight for the planter or overseer to maintain a tangible level of surveillance over the land and workforce. However, because of the low percentage of actual visibility of the structures, it is clear that the *threat* of constant surveillance is the true manifestation of a control mechanism in the physical environment.

### **Landscape Theory**

All landscapes, no matter how simple or complex, carry cultural meaning. Further, all landscape that has in any manner been affected by humans is a landscape that can be analyzed for cultural meaning, though the meaning may not be blatant or uncomplicated.<sup>140</sup> The rice plantations in this thesis represented the typical southern landscape in the antebellum era, and clearly carried (and still share) significant cultural meaning about the period. The complex racial tensions, as well as the tenuous societal status quo of hierarchy bred a multifaceted landscape that today informs multidisciplinary study about the methods of surveillance, perceived or otherwise.

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<sup>140</sup> Peirce K. Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape, Some Guides to the American Scene," (*Journal of Architectural Education* 30, no. 1 (January 1979)), <http://www.sethspielman.org/courses/geog3612/readings/PierceLewisAxioms.pdf>.

This thesis informs a type of landscape architecture theory called Perception Theory. The elements of close proximity between the main houses and settlements, uniform orientations and clear, though limited, lines of sight all point to a desire for surveillance over enslaved workers by the planters. However, a focus on geometric,

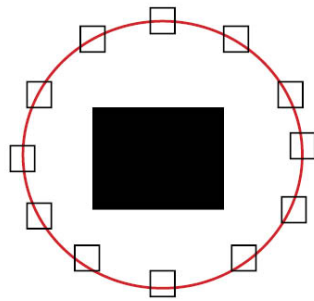


Figure 38: An example of a plantation following the panopticon model, increasing visibility and surveillance capability.

prioritizes this circular arrangement?

Protection Theory posits that the lens in which these rice plantations were studied shows that surveillance was not the predominant consideration in the configuration of plantations. A more effective panopticon model would have disrupted the geometry of orderliness, and consequently introduced an opportunity for shift in the hierarchy of power. In fact, there are many more protected areas in settlements in which enslaved workers would not be seen from the main house. There are protected zones where the sight lines cast sight shadows. The orderliness of the settlement meant that one building

orderly configurations was clearly evident in the plantation models. In theory, the panopticon model is the quintessential surveillance method (Figure 38).<sup>141</sup> Why then, is there not a plantation spatial configuration that

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<sup>141</sup> Lisa B. Randle, "Applying the Panopticon Model to Historic Plantation Landscapes through Viewshed Analysis," *Historical Geography*, (Vol 39 (2011)), 105-127.

directly in front of a line of consequent buildings effectively blocked any view from the main house down that row of dwellings. This lack of surveillance capability then introduces the need to consider point of view of the seen and unseen spaces, from both planter and enslaved workers, on the plantation landscape. Planters used the practice of orderliness to enhance intentional siting of the dwellings in the settlements for a polite versus profane, or disorderly plantation. At the forefront of the theory is that capability for surveillance was not substantiated in this study as a primary pattern across rice plantations. Therefore, these protected areas of settlements enhanced privacy, more than they encouraged control.

These linear patterns communicated to enslaved workers that the planter has order and control over the architecture, and therefore has control over the surveillance of the landscape. From the planter's point of view, enslaved workers perceived their space to be under constant surveillance, and the planter was reassured in the maintenance of control. From the enslaved workers' point of view, their ability to remain in shadowed, or unseen, portions of the landscape allowed them to have personhood or some sense of privacy. This construction and maneuvering of the plantation landscape under these contentious veils of perception show that in these hierarchical and racial landscapes, there is a need for black and white personhood at the center of landscape study.

### **Further Research**

This research is a starting point for other investigations of the plantation landscape of surveillance. Specifically, using modeling and line of sight analysis to

compare and contrast Lowcountry rice plantations with cotton, wheat and other plantations. Many times over the course of this work, there have been more questions that occur, as soon as one question gets answered. Most pressing of these avenues for further study is the analysis of countersurveillance, the surveillance imposed upon planters by enslaved workers, on these same plantations. There was clearly a level of recognition by the enslaved workers that there is space on the plantation landscape in which the planter was unable to surveil the workforce. How did this affect where and how the enslaved workers move?

Further, did this landscape of the architecture of surveillance persist in landscape of African American communities beyond 1867? The answer is likely yes, due to the manifestation of power and surveillance in architecture such as prisons and schools, but more modeling and line of sight studies could shed light on the dynamic of this structure. Many other topics involving African American and enslaved workers, and the built environment designed to control and surveil them, would be great candidates for these modeling exercises to help literature expand upon the understanding of surveillance culture in architecture. Many scholars have begun the turn towards studying the counter surveillance tactics employed by the enslaved workers, or the methods by which the enslaved began to craft the landscape into their own space. This is extremely valuable work because it shows the dynamism of the plantation culture in the South. Both Fesler and architectural historian Dell Upton highlight in their work that a constant thread connecting African culture and enslaved workers from plantation to plantation was the

inclusion of yard space as a manifestation of place.<sup>142</sup> This middling space was not explicitly considered in the analysis of this thesis, so this would be an interesting element to add in further studies.

Some other topics that arose over the course of this thesis are, smaller scope comparative landscape studies (more in depth on a singular plantation to plantation comparison), enslaved workers in the West and the built environment, enslaved workers in the North and the built environment, enslaved workers on college campuses and the built environment, and surveillance when the planters went to other property (like their townhouses). Finally, how do the architectural style and character defining features of plantation houses, such as levels of porches and number of windows affect surveillance?

## **Summary**

The ACE Basin in South Carolina supported ninety-one rice plantations in the antebellum period, dynamic and constructed microcosms of commerce and cultivation. Today, many of those former rice plantation houses and lands are no longer part of the landscape, sold or converted into other uses. Even fewer in number are the dwellings that once housed enslaved workers. Their structures no longer exist for the purpose of remembrance or study, and yet those are the structures that offer such insight into the backbone of the antebellum rice culture that carried South Carolina for the better part of a century. Interpretation of structures that no longer exist is difficult. More difficult still is

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<sup>142</sup> Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 133.; Fesler, "Excavating the Spaces," 31.

interpreting a narrative that relies on understanding a minority party controlling a majority party using the power of architecture to threaten surveillance.

Rice plantations in the ACE Basin remain a large part of the history of the Lowcountry, and South Carolina. The built environment of those plantations is a worthy study that shows just how limited the visibility of the planters truly was, despite the maintenance of control over the workers. The research in this thesis will be valuable in continuing research of the Lowcountry, and reinterpreting plantation studies to include a framework in which surveillance is not assumed.

Dell Upton put it best when he said, “For me, one of the most engaging problems in architectural history is to understand the social experience of architecture.”<sup>143</sup> The social experience of rice plantations in the ACE Basin requires the understanding of a system in which one or two white men controlled a black majority. The ACE Basin is known as, “The Last Great Place,” and yet there is stark lack of interpretation of the landscape that first shaped the region. Its ‘greatness’ is rooted in sadness and loss. The region needs to shed its particular narrative that omits the stories of enslaved workers and their landscape, proving scholars must continue to study plantations, and the people who actually shaped the landscape.

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<sup>143</sup> Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," 122.

## APPENDICES



## Appendix A

### Scaled Plats



Figure A-1: Scaled plat of Airy Hall Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.

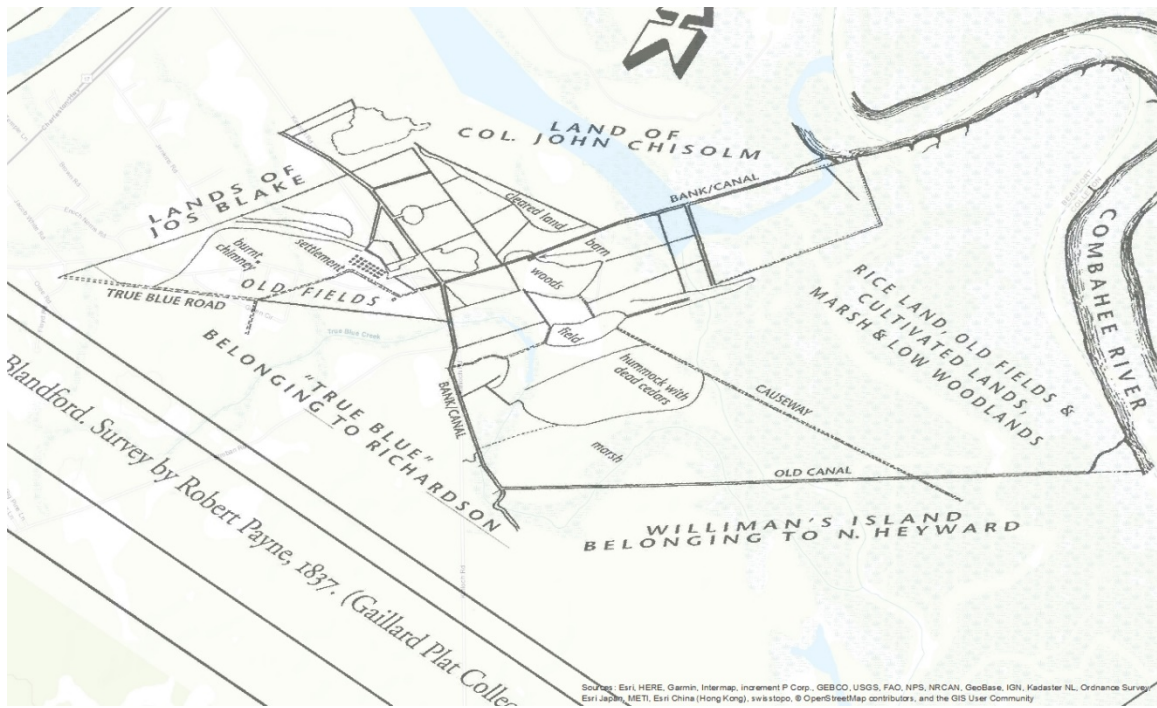


Figure A-2: Scaled plat of Blandford Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.



Figure A-3: Scaled plat of Bonny Hall Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.



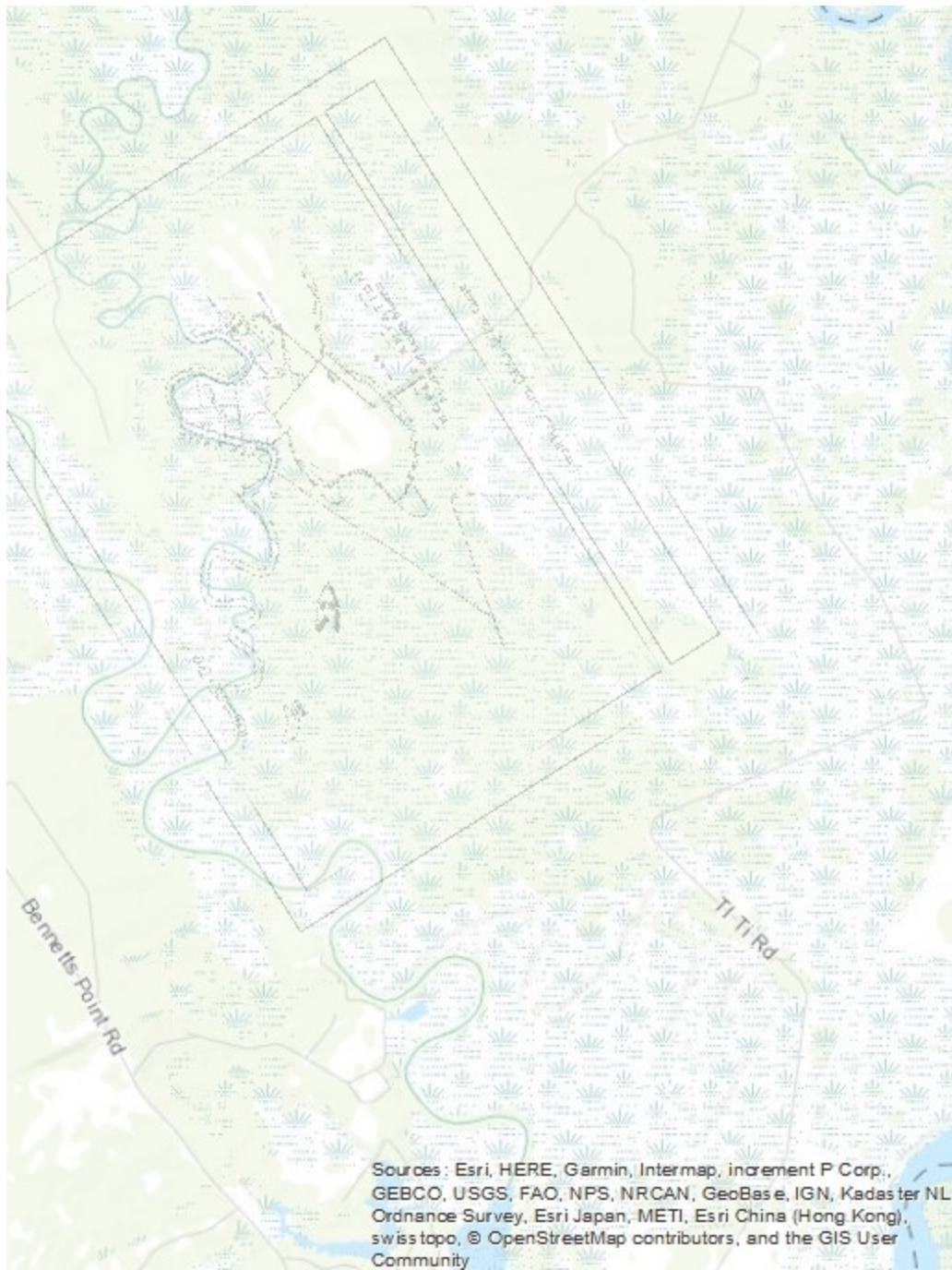


Figure A-4: Scaled plat of Cattell Island Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.



Figure A-5: Scaled plat of Butler's Island Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.





Figure A-6: Scaled plat of Green Point Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.

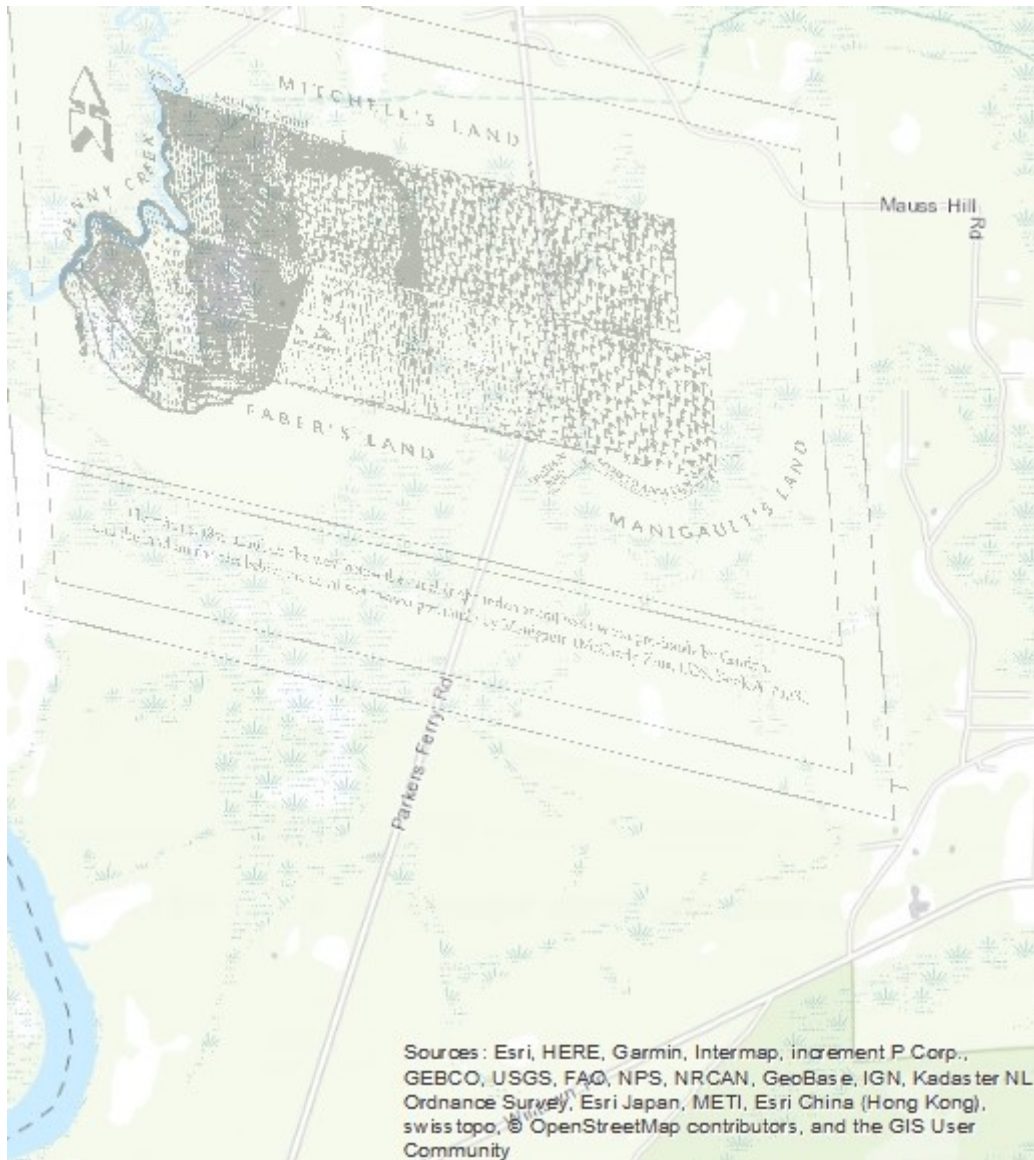


Figure A-7: Scaled plat of Hermitage Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.



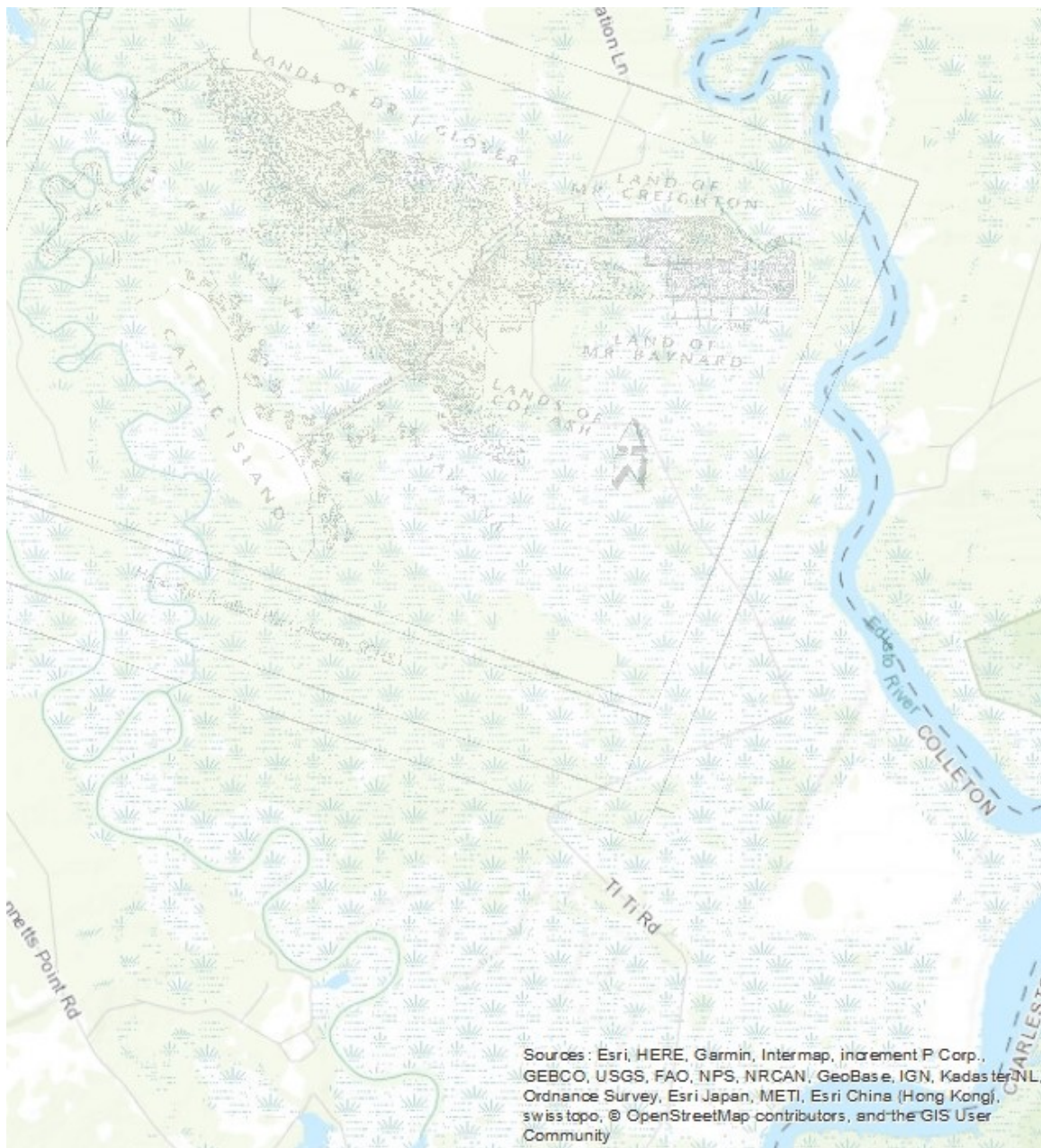


Figure A-8: Scaled plat of Hope Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.



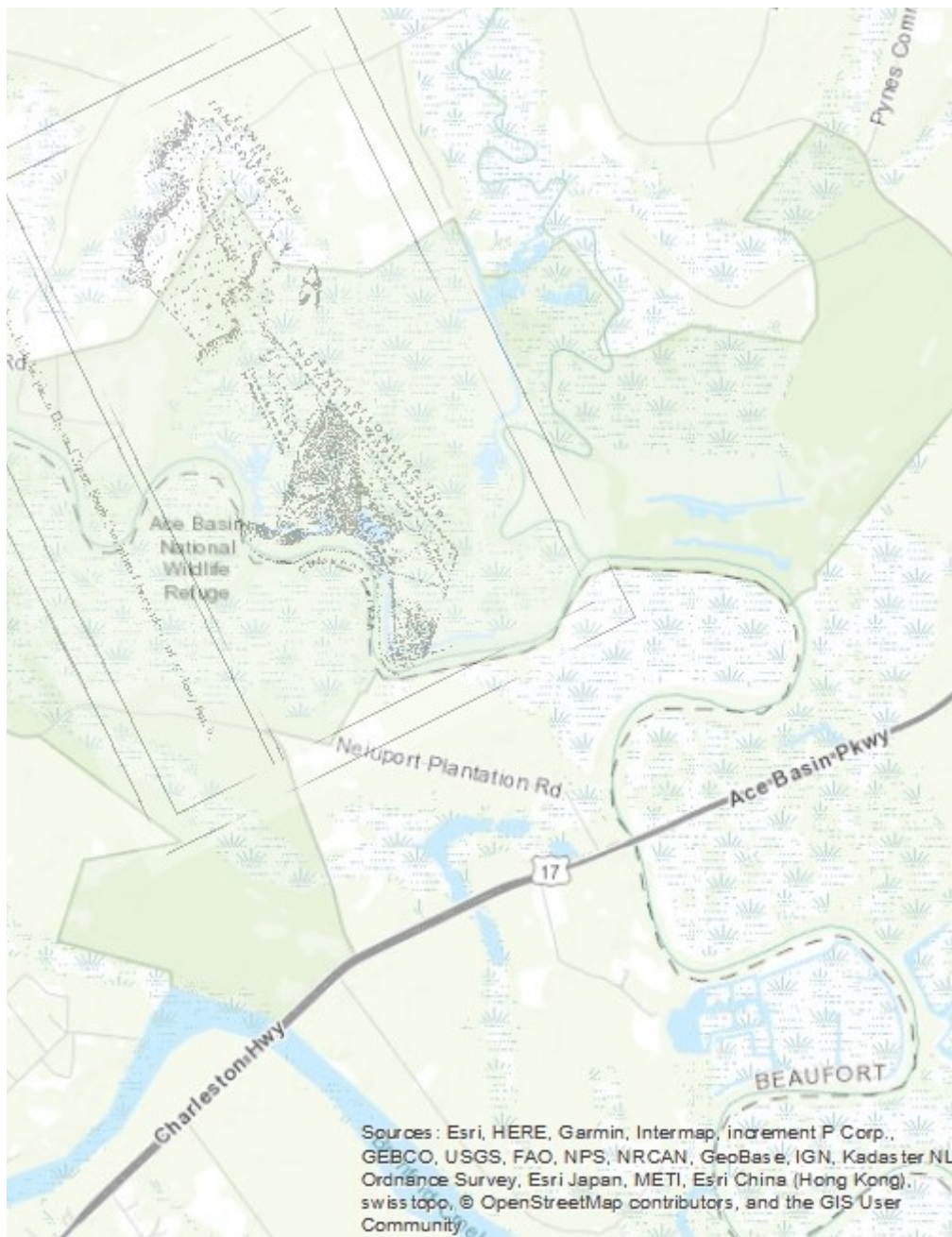


Figure A-9: Scaled plat of Lewisburg Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.

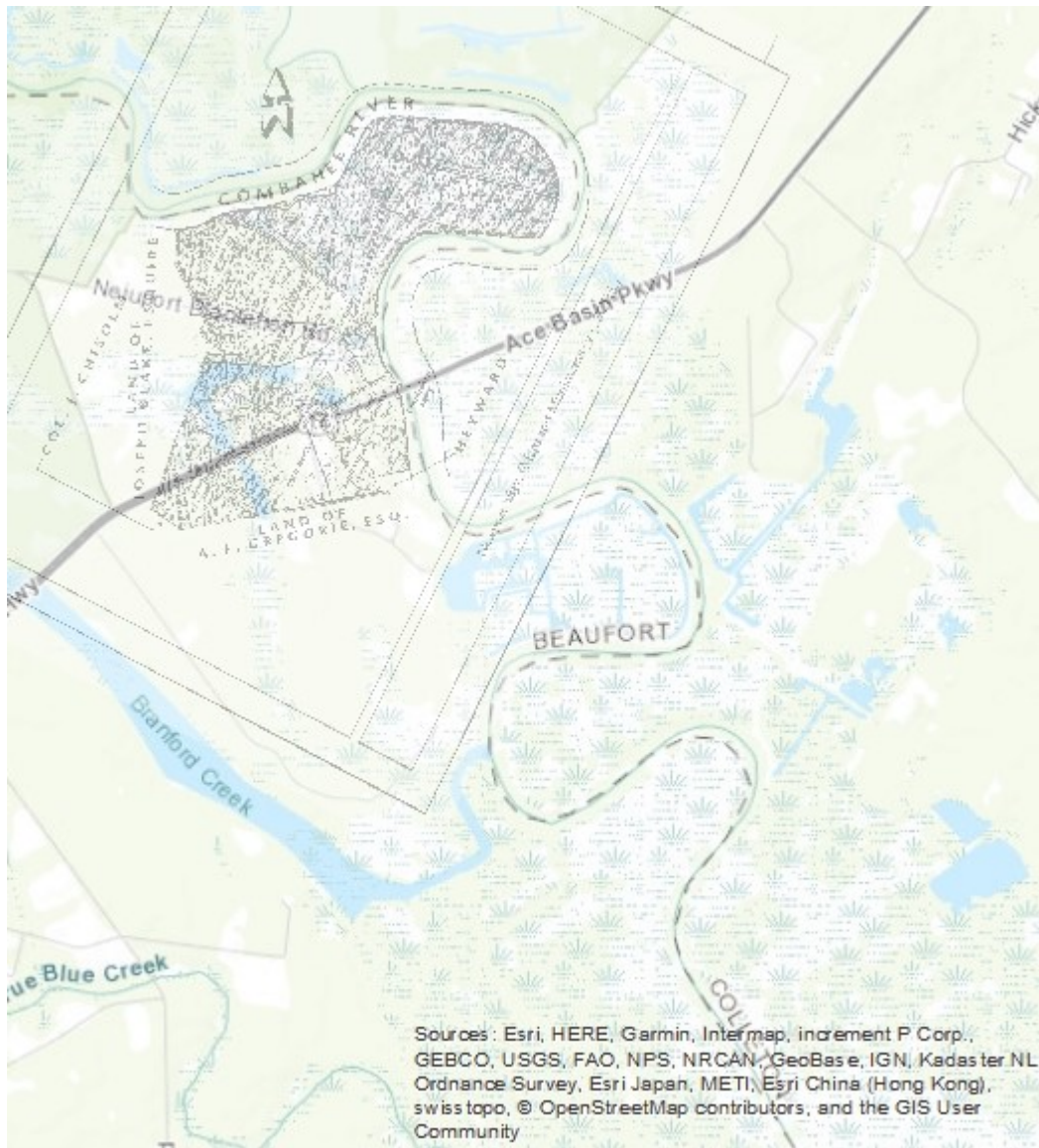


Figure A-10: Scaled plat of Newport Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.

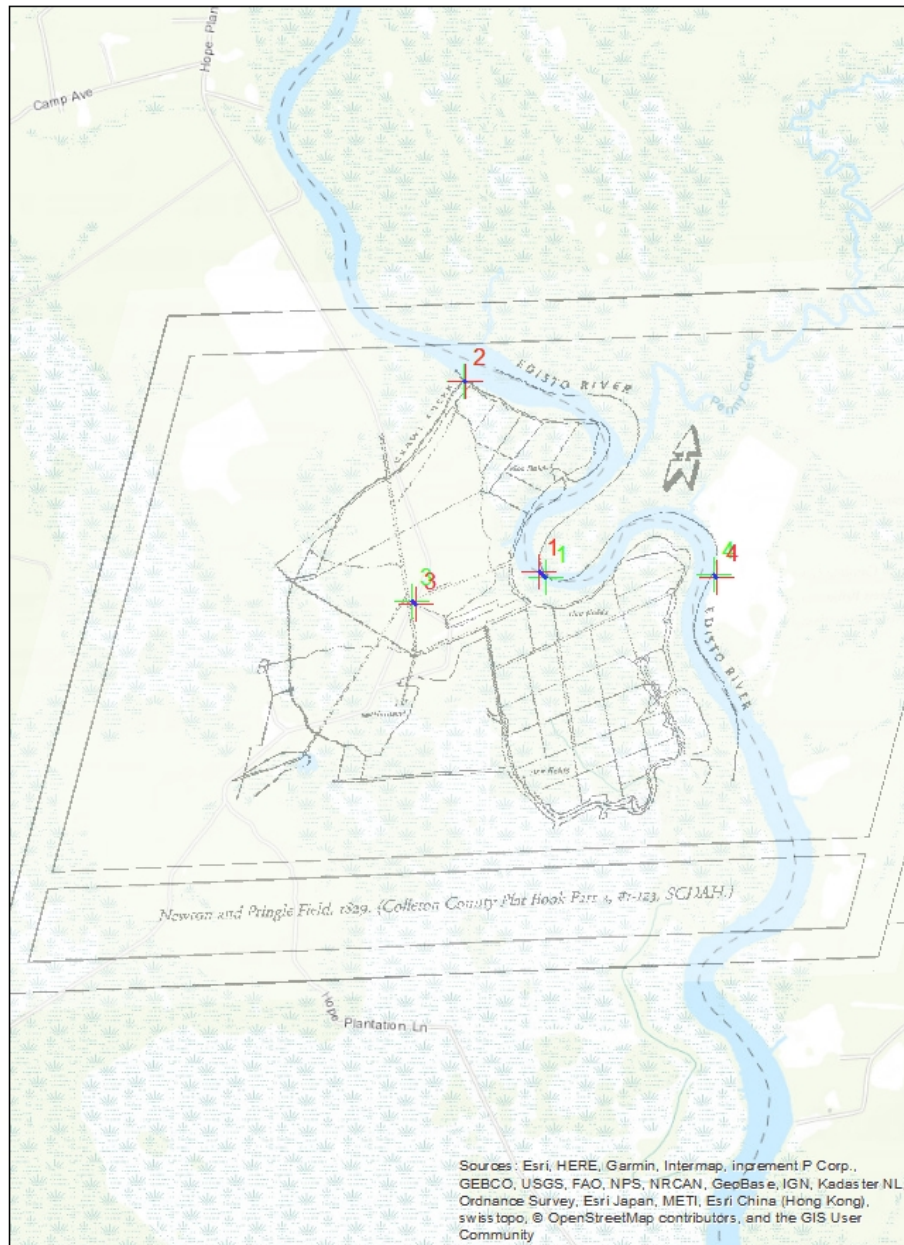


Figure A-11: Scaled plat of Newton Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.





Figure A-12: Scaled plat of Oakland Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.



Figure A-13: Scaled plot of Poco Sabo Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.

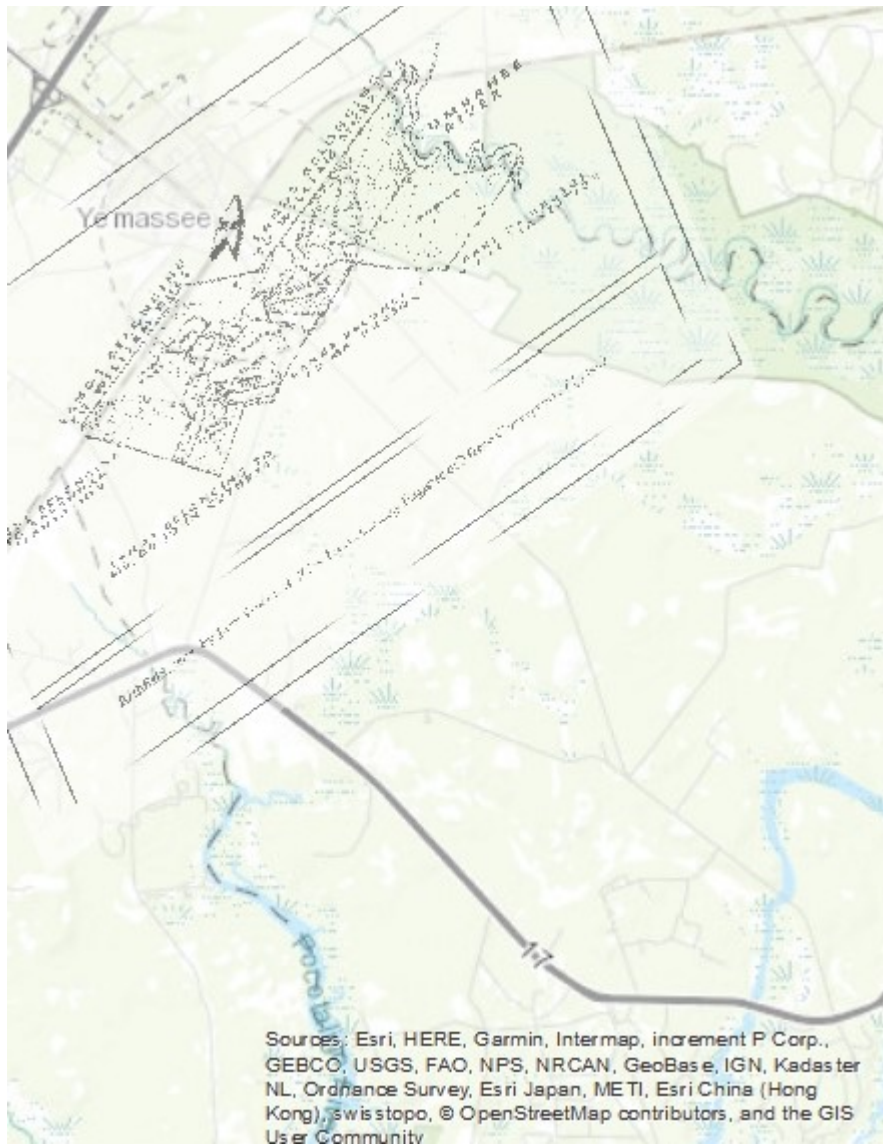


Figure A-14: Scaled plat of Richfield Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.

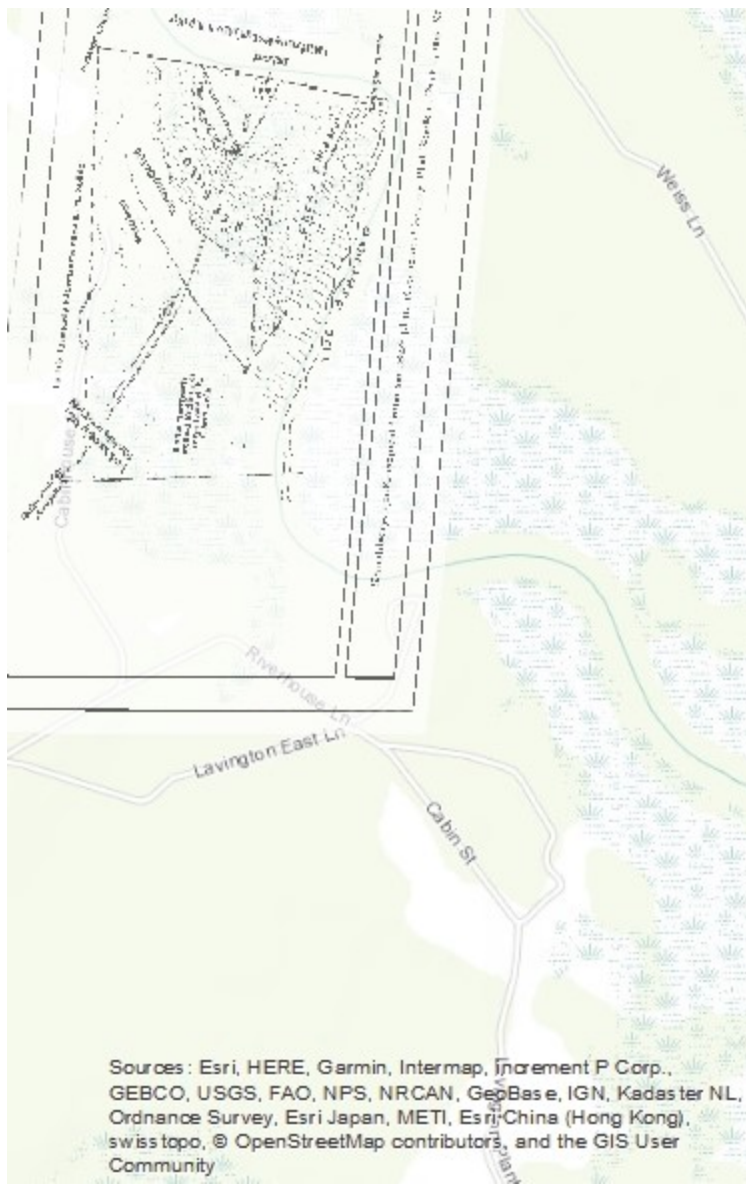


Figure A-15: Scaled plat of Shrubbery Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.



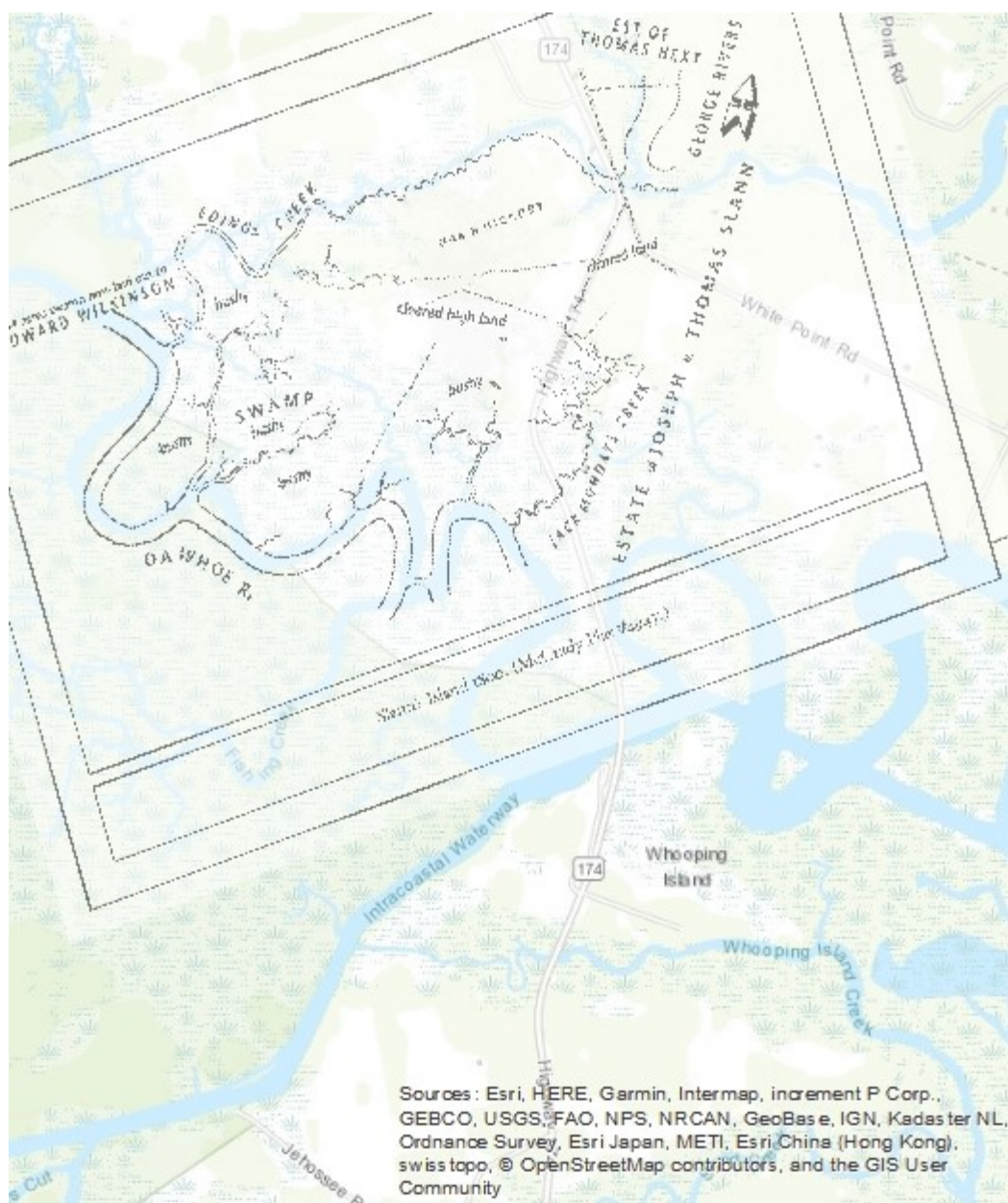


Figure A-16: Scaled plat of Slann's Island Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.



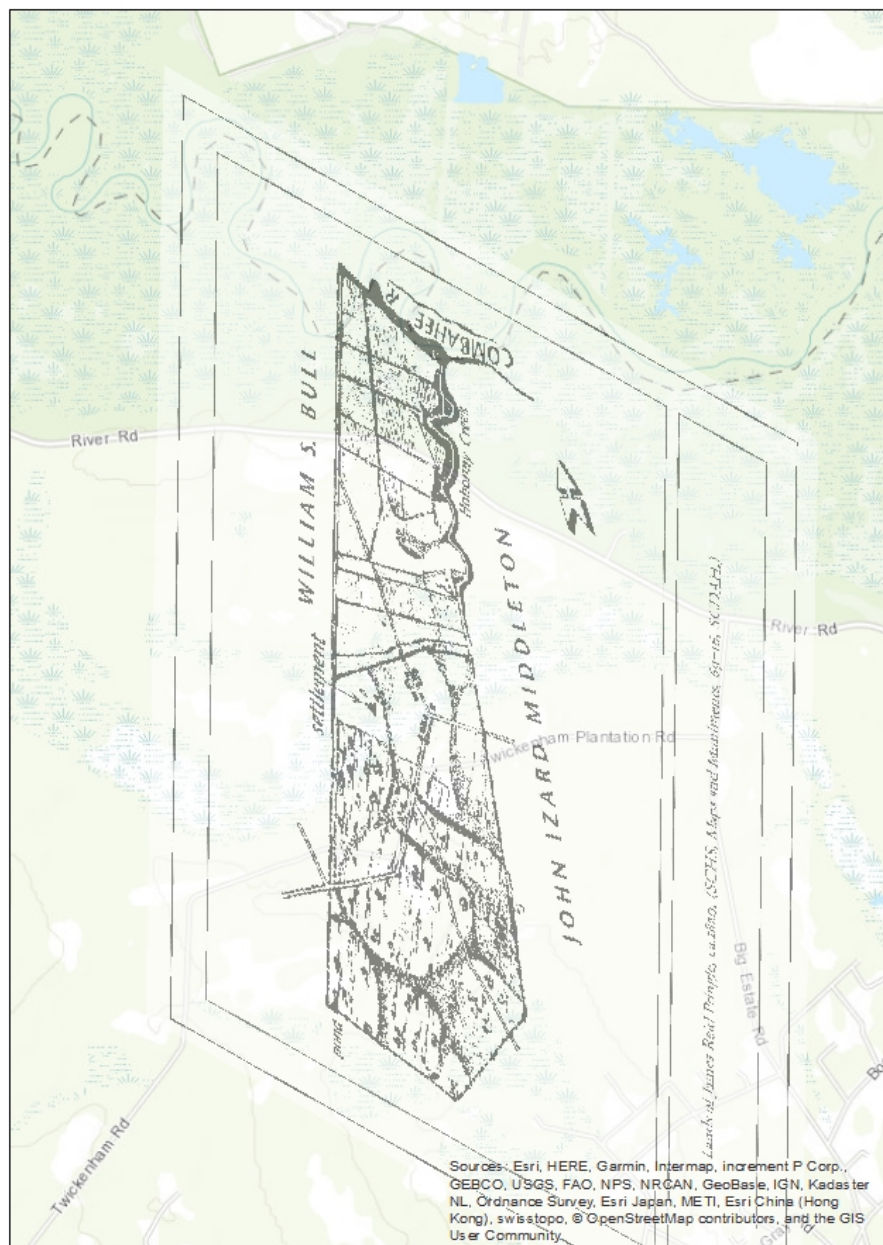
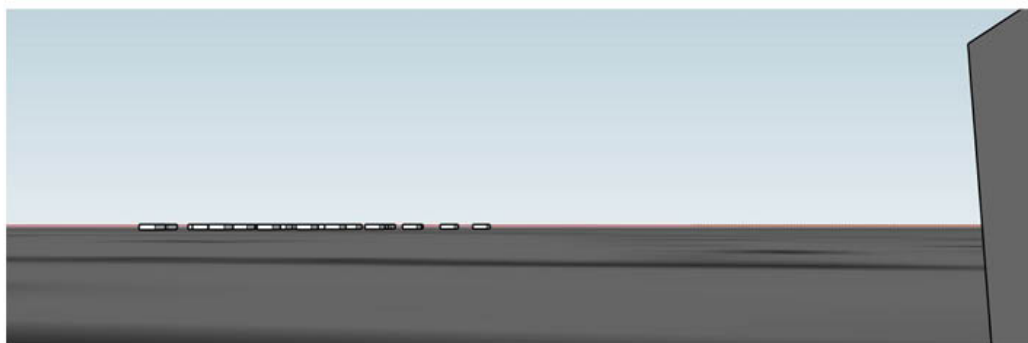


Figure A-17: Scaled plat of Twickenham Plantation, georeferenced on ArcGIS.

Appendix B  
Plantation/Plat Models

Plantation Name: Airy Hall  
Number of Structures Identified: 30  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 17  
Year of Plat: 1849  
6 FOOT VIEW



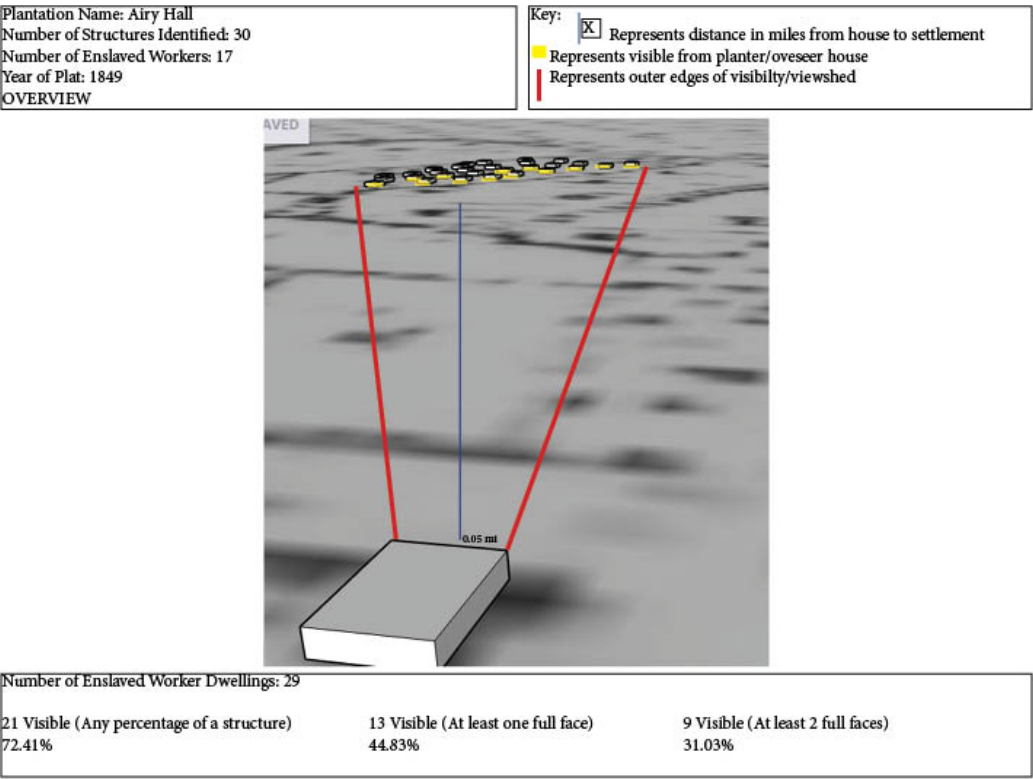
Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings: 29

21 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)  
72.41%

13 Visible (At least one full face)  
44.83%

9 Visible (At least 2 full faces)  
31.03%

Figure B-1



AVED

0.05 mi

Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings: 29

21 Visible (Any percentage of a structure) 72.41%	13 Visible (At least one full face) 44.83%	9 Visible (At least 2 full faces) 31.03%
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Figure B-2

Plantation Name: Barings Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 5  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 140  
Year of Plat: 1850  
OVERVIEW

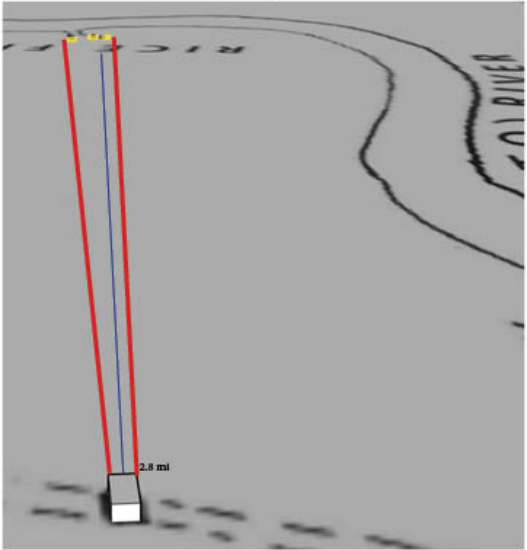
Key:

X

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

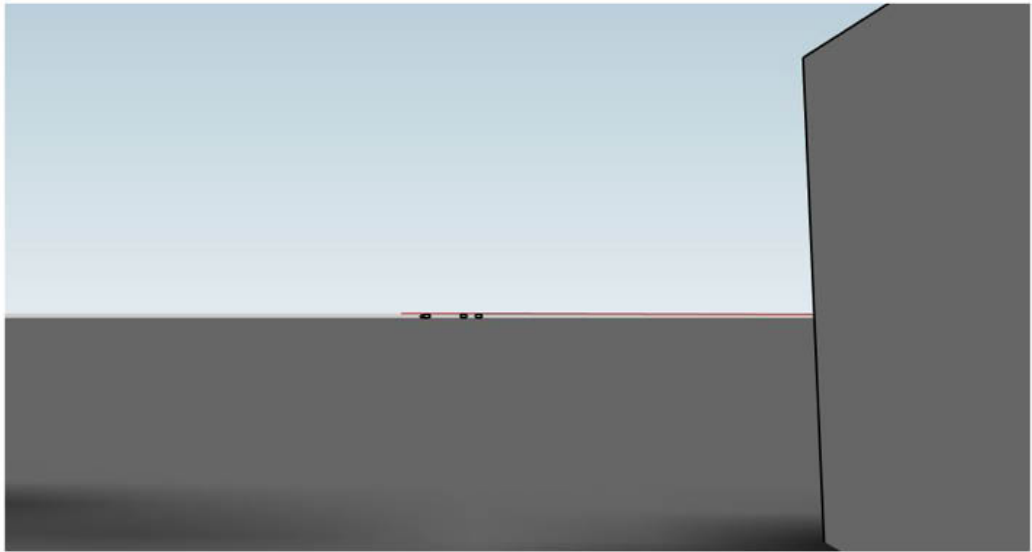
Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings: 4		
*Distance likely restrict true visibility		
3 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	3 Visible (At least one full face)	2 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
75%	75%	50%

Figure B-3

Plantation Name: Barings Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 5  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 140  
Year of Plat: 1850  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings: 4

3 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)  
75%

3 Visible (At least one full face)  
75%

2 Visible (At least 2 full faces)  
50%

Figure B-4

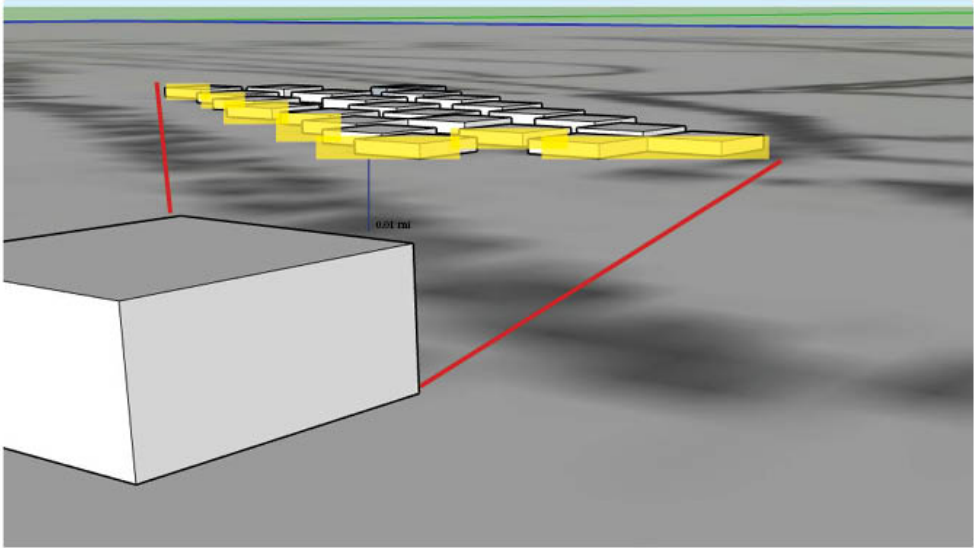
Plantation Name: Blandford Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 25  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 231  
Year of Plat: 1837  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/oveseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed

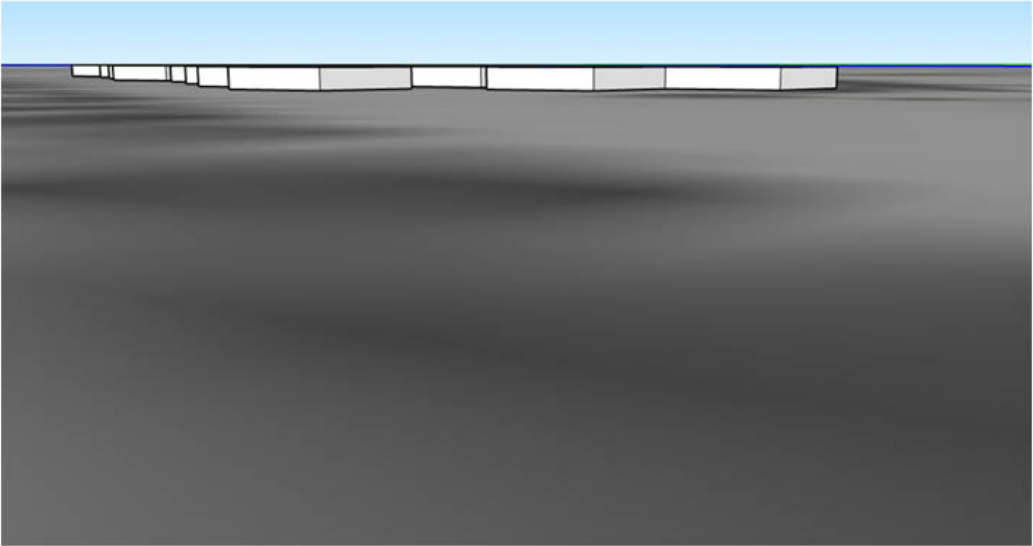


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings: 24

11 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	5 Visible (At least one full face)	3 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
45.83%	20.83%	12.5%

Figure B-5

Plantation Name: Blandford Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 25  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 231  
Year of Plat: 1837  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings: 24

11 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	5 Visible (At least one full face)	3 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
45.83%	20.83%	12.5%

Figure B-6

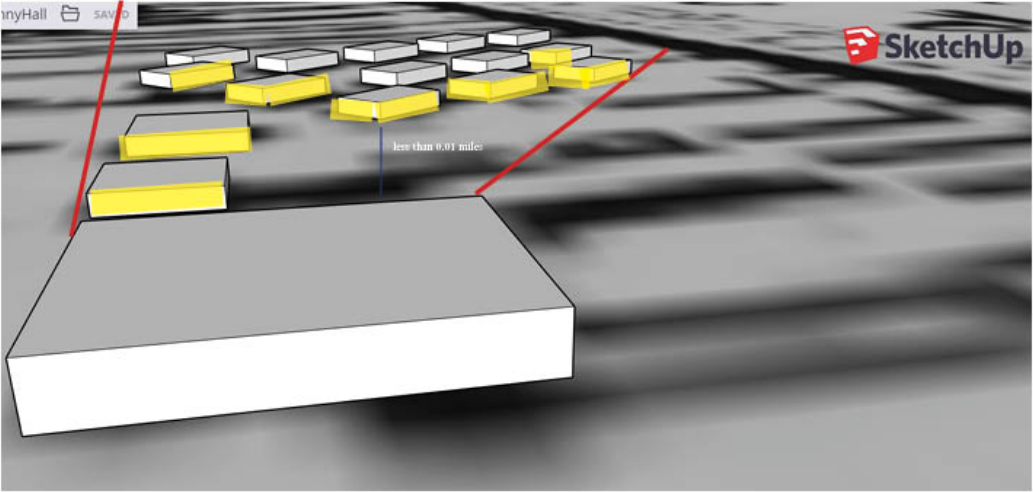
Plantation Name: Bonny Hill  
Number of Structures Identified: 16  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 620  
Year of Plat: 1867  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed






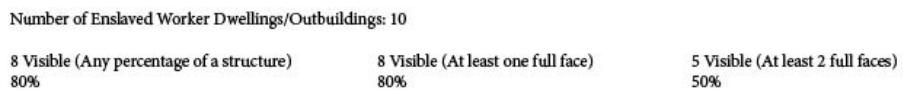
Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 15		
9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	7 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
60%	46.67%	40%

Figure B-7



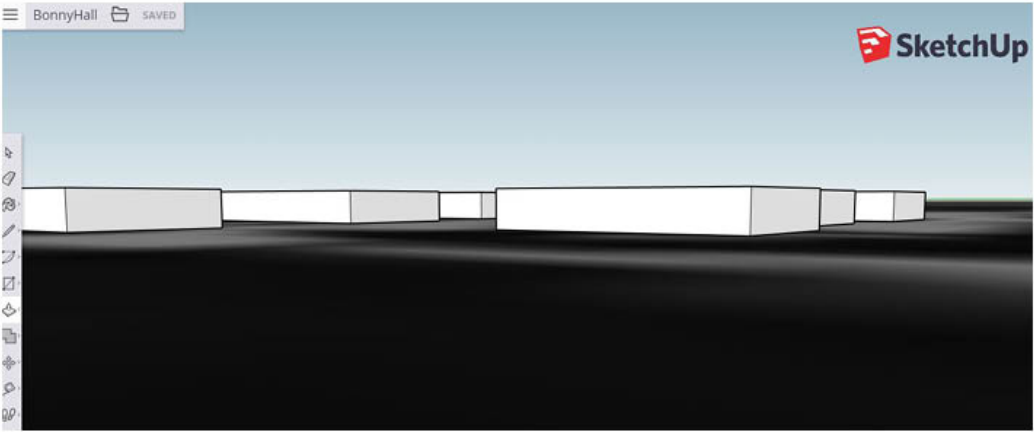
Key:

-  Represents distance in miles from house to settlement
-  Represents visible from planter/overseer house
-  Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



123

Plantation Name: Bonny Hall Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 11  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 620  
Year of Plat: 1867  
6 FOOT VIEW (RIGHT)

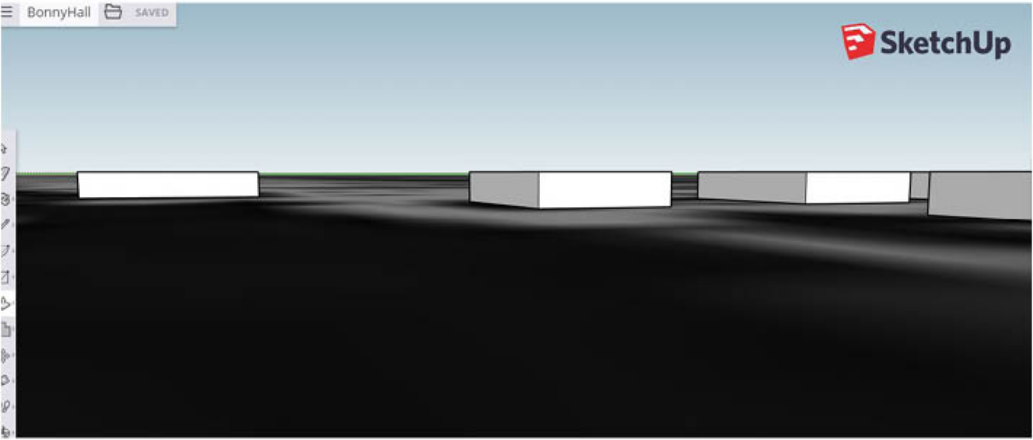


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 10

8 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	8 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
80%	80%	50%

Figure B-9

Plantation Name: Bonny Hall Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 11  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 620  
Year of Plat: 1867  
6 FOOT VIEW (CENTRAL)



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 10

8 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	8 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
80%	80%	50%

Figure B-10

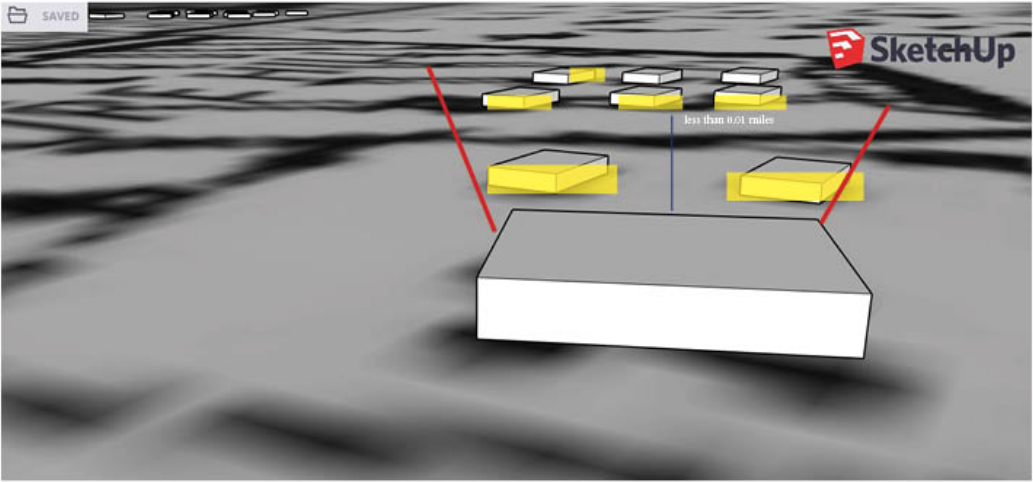
Plantation Name: Pleasant Hill  
Number of Structures Identified: 9  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 620  
Year of Plat:1867  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 8

7 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	6 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
87.5%	75%	62.5%

Figure B-11

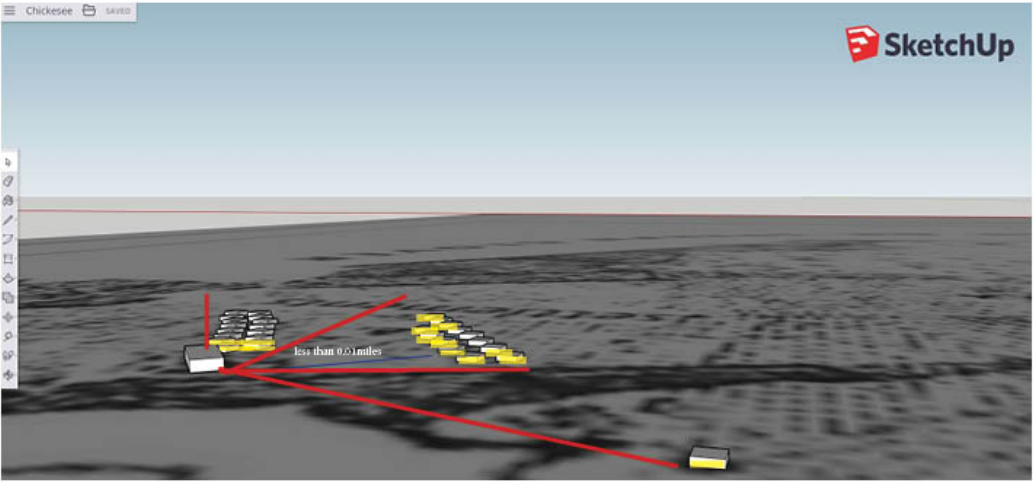
Plantation Name: Butler's Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 30  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 211  
Year of Plat: 1830  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

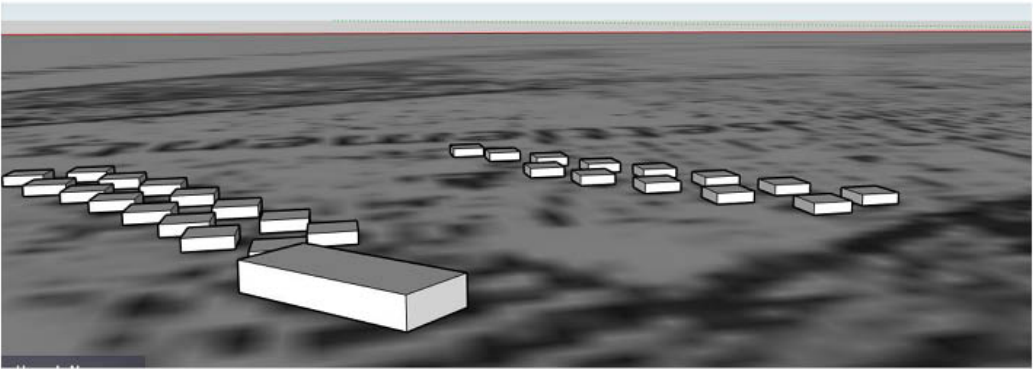
Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 29		
14 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	11 Visible (At least one full face)	10 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
48.28%	37.93%	34.48%

Figure B-12

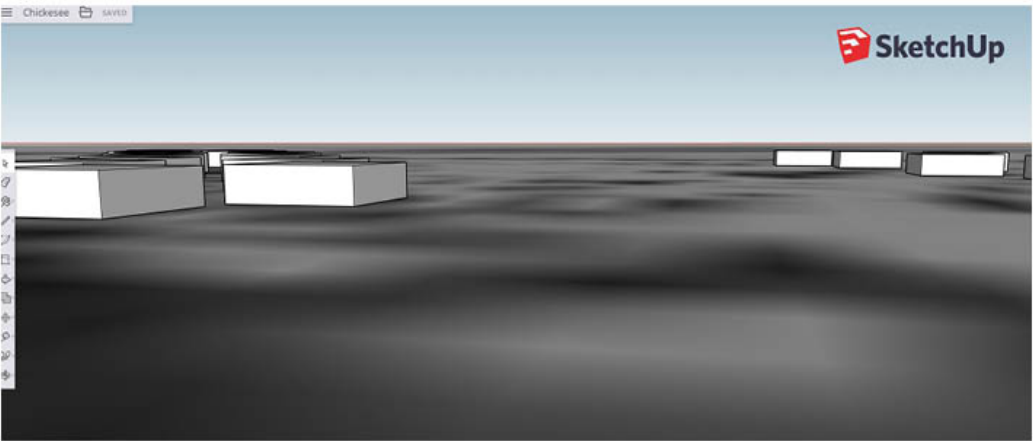
Plantation Name: Butler's Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 30  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 211  
Year of Plat: 1830  
OVERVIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 29		
14 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	11 Visible (At least one full face)	10 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
48.28%	37.93%	34.48%

Figure B-13

Plantation Name: Butler's Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 30  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 211  
Year of Plat: 1830  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 29		
14 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	11 Visible (At least one full face)	10 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
48.28%	37.93%	34.48%

Figure B-14

Plantation Name: Cattell Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 33  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 100  
Year of Plat: 1851  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



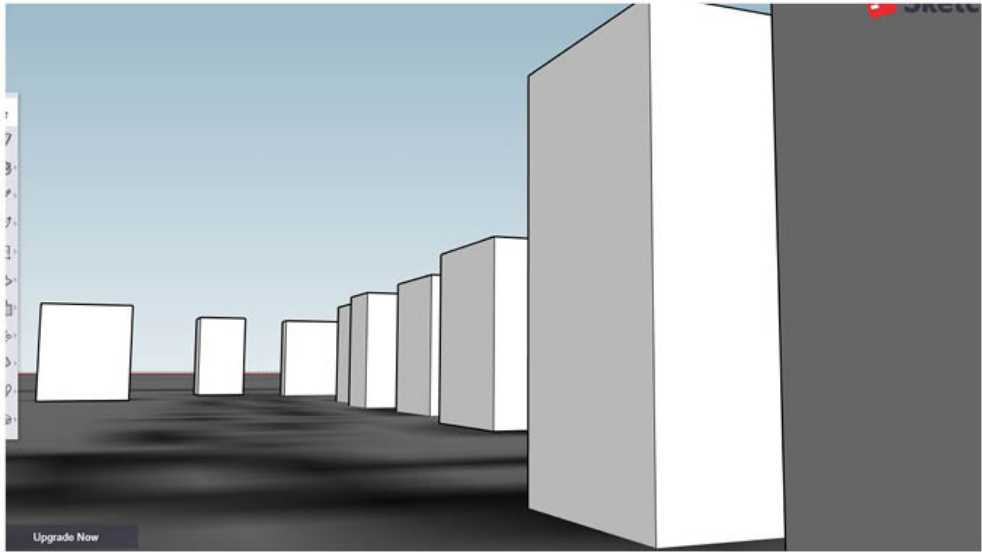
Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 32

21 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	19 Visible (At least one full face)	13 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
63.63%	59.38%	40.63%

Figure B-15



Plantation Name: Cattell Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 33  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 100  
Year of Plat: 1851  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 32

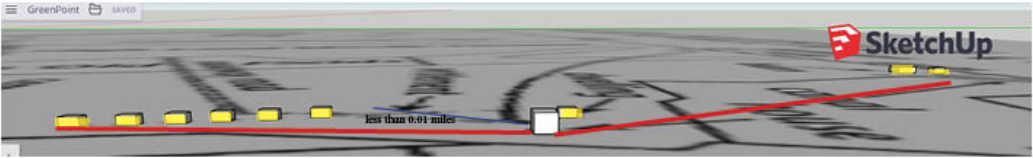
21 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	19 Visible (At least one full face)	13 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
63.63%	59.38%	40.63%

Figure B-16

Plantation Name: Green Point Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 10  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 231  
Year of Plat: 1824  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

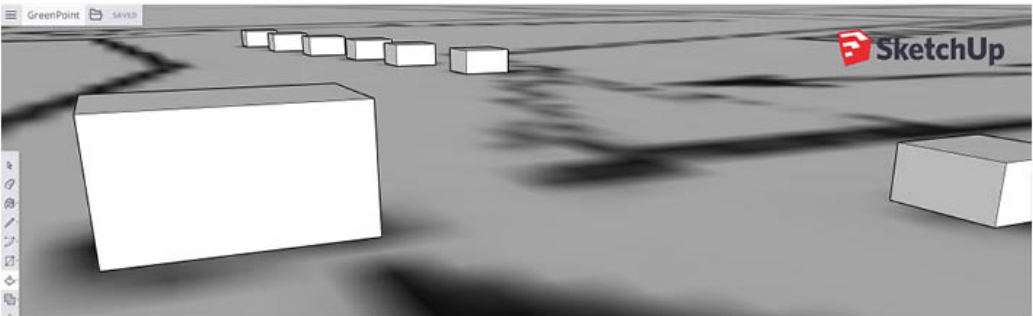
Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 9

9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
100%	100%	66.67%

Figure B-17

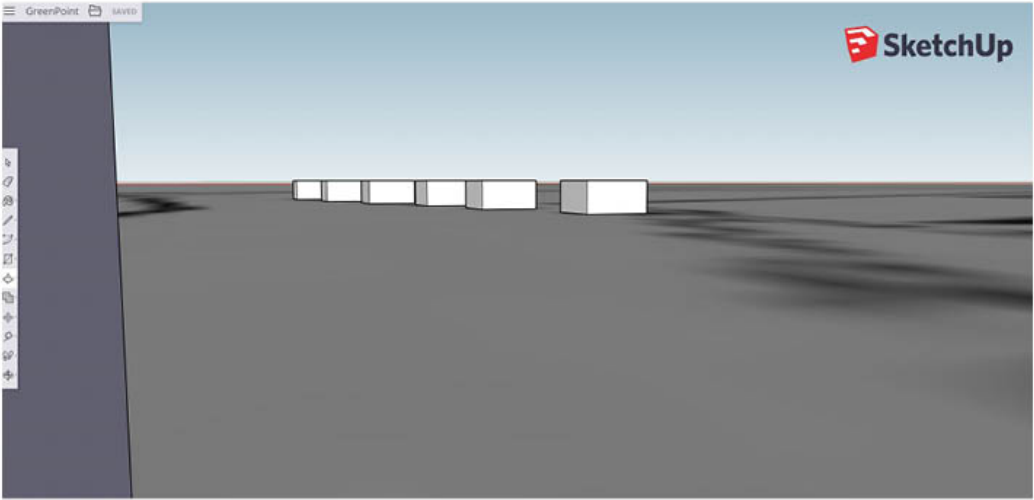
Plantation Name: Green Point Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 10  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 231  
Year of Plat: 1824  
OVERVIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 9		
9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
100%	100%	66.67%
*Barn may be too far for a clear view		

Figure B-18

Plantation Name: Green Point Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 10  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 231  
Year of Plat: 1824  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 9

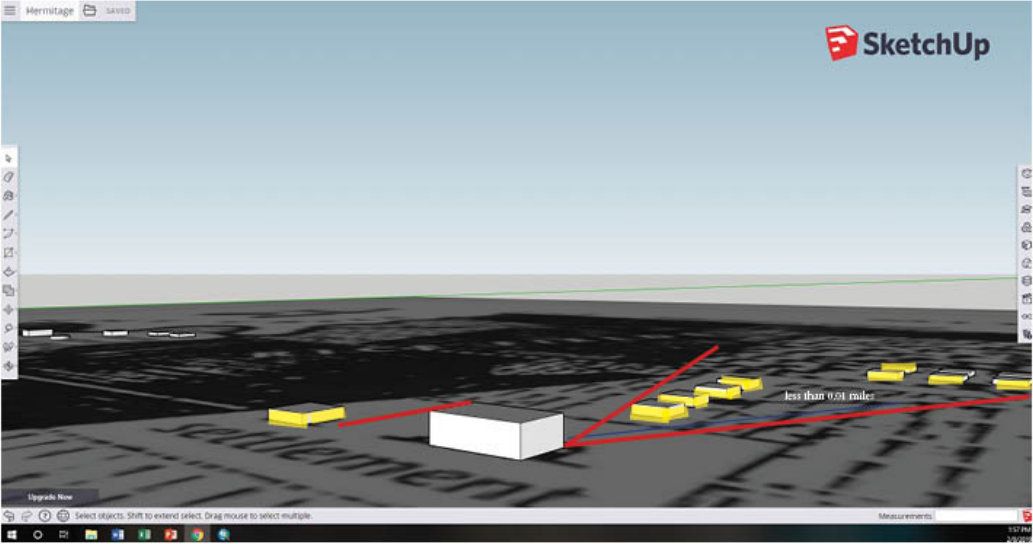
9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
100%	100%	66.67%
*Barn may be too far for a clear view		

Figure B-19

Plantation Name: Hermitage Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 17  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 50  
Year of Plat: 1851  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

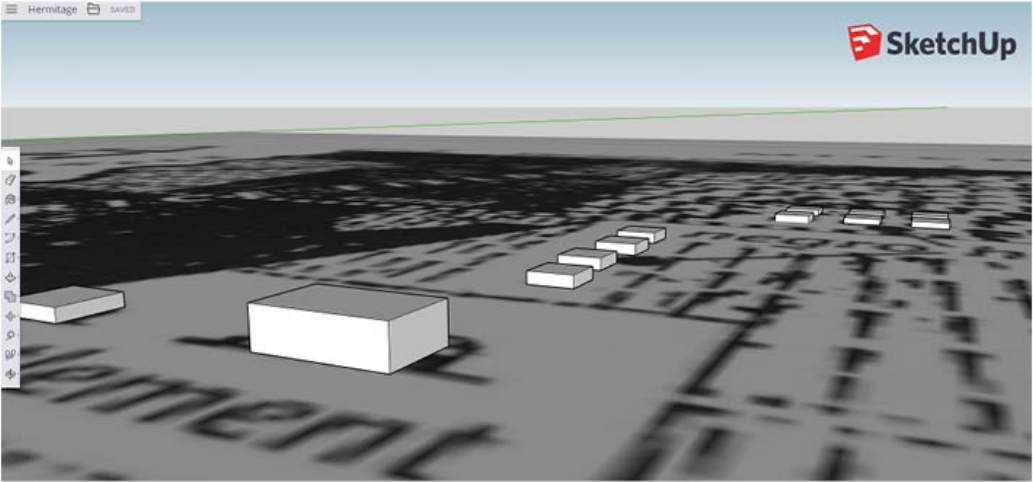
Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 16

11 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
68.75%	56.25%	37.5%

Figure B-20

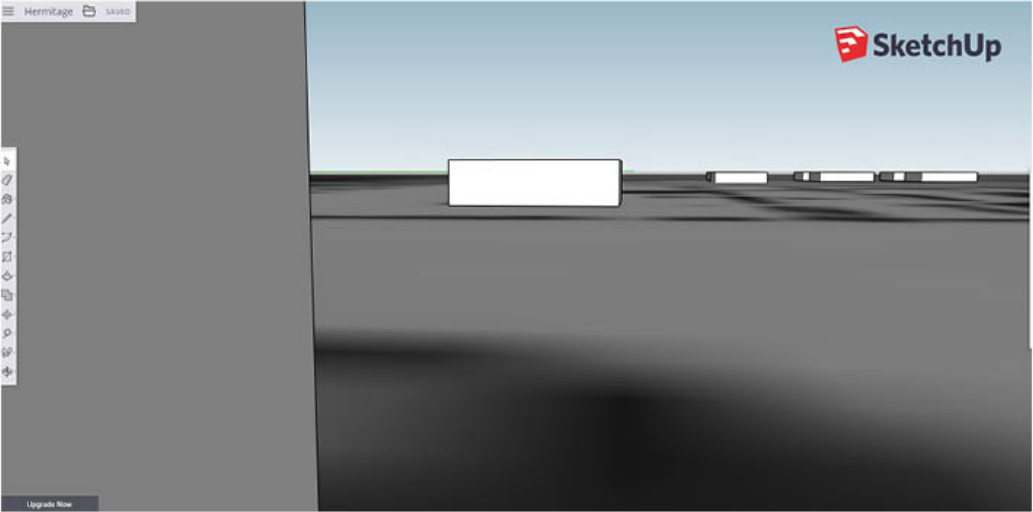
Plantation Name: Hermitage Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 17  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 50  
Year of Plat: 1851  
OVERVIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 16		
11 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
68.75%	56.25%	37.5%

Figure B-21

Plantation Name: Hermitage Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 17  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 50  
Year of Plat: 1851  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 16		
11 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
68.75%	56.25%	37.5%

Figure B-22

Plantation Name: Hope Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 21  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 107  
Year of Plat: 1850  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 20

7 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)  
35%

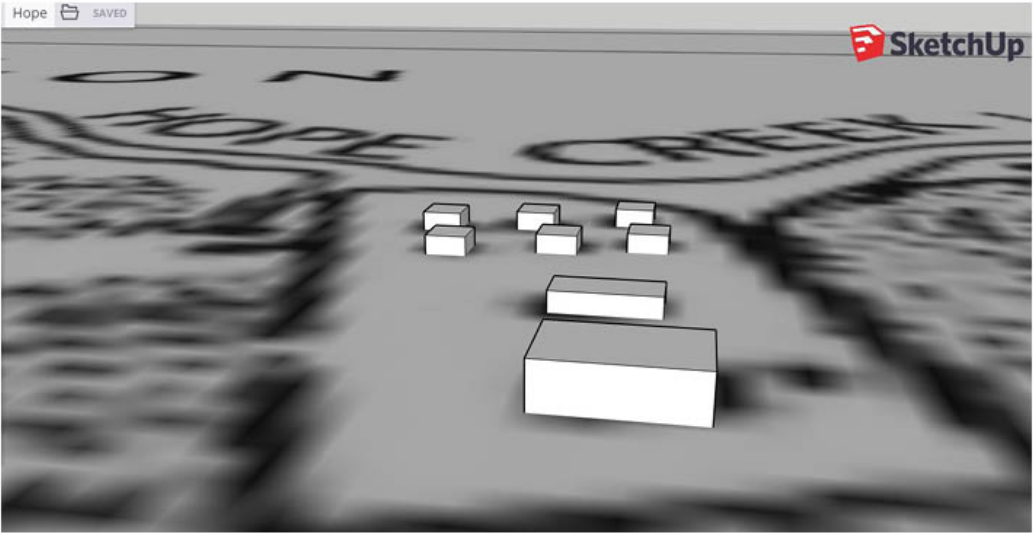
7 Visible (At least one full face)  
35%

6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)  
30%

Figure B-23



Plantation Name: Hope Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 21  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 107  
Year of Plat: 1850  
OVERVIEW

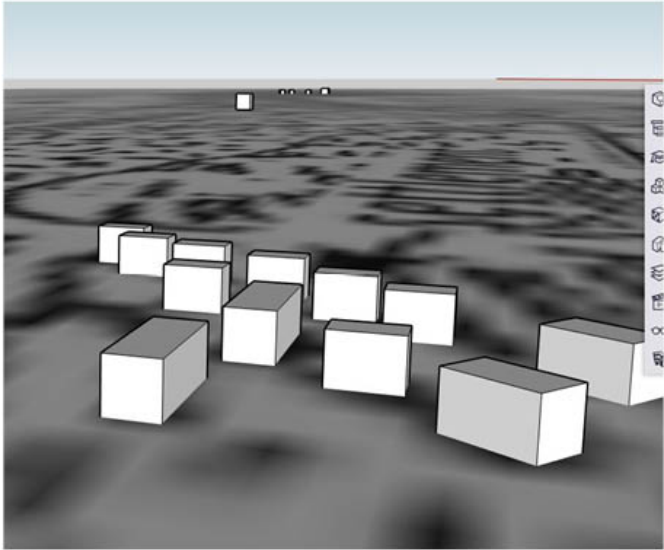


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 20

7 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	7 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
35%	35%	30%

Figure B-24

Plantation Name: Hope Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 21  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 107  
Year of Plat: 1850  
OVERVIEW (SETTLEMENT BACK TO PLANTATION HOUSE)



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 20

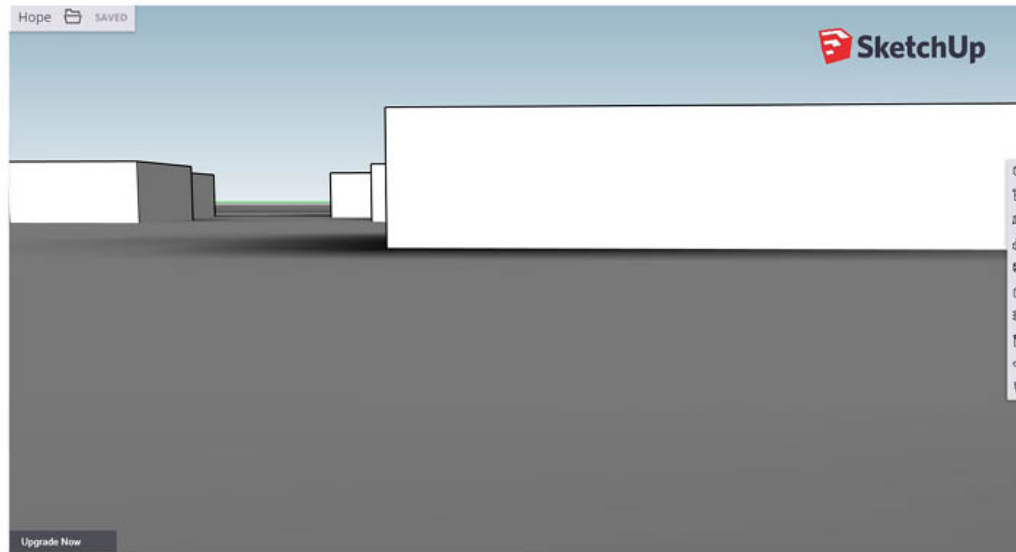
7 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	7 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
35%	35%	30%

Figure B-25

Plantation Name: Hope Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 21  
Number of Enslaved Workers:  
Year of Plat: 1850  
6 FOOT VIEW

Key

COLOR SQUARE Represents visibility from planter/oveseer house  
RED LINES Represent outer edges of visibilty/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 20

7 Visible (Any percentage of a strucutre)  
35%

7 Visible (At least one full face)  
35%

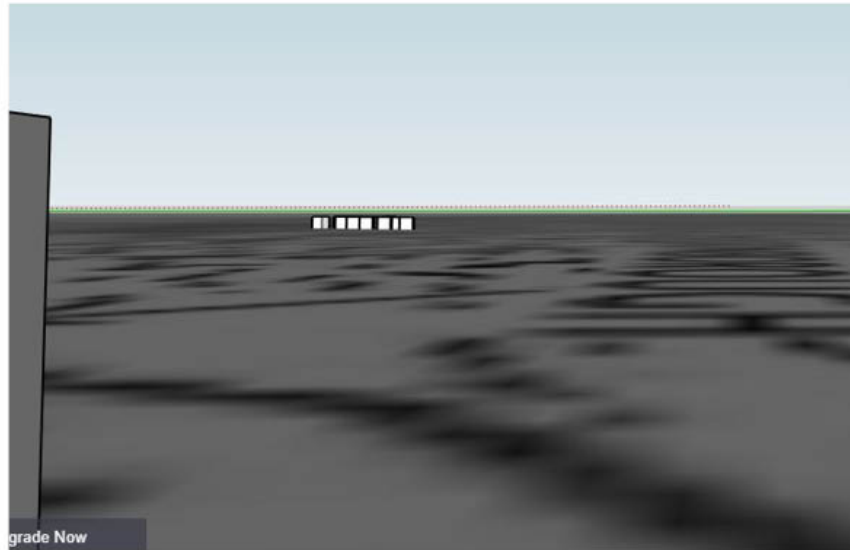
6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)  
30%

Figure B-26

Plantation Name: Hope Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 21  
Number of Enslaved Workers:  
Year of Plat: 1850  
6 FOOT VIEW

Key

COLOR SQUARE Represents visibility from planter/oveseer house  
RED LINES Represent outer edges of visibilty/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 20

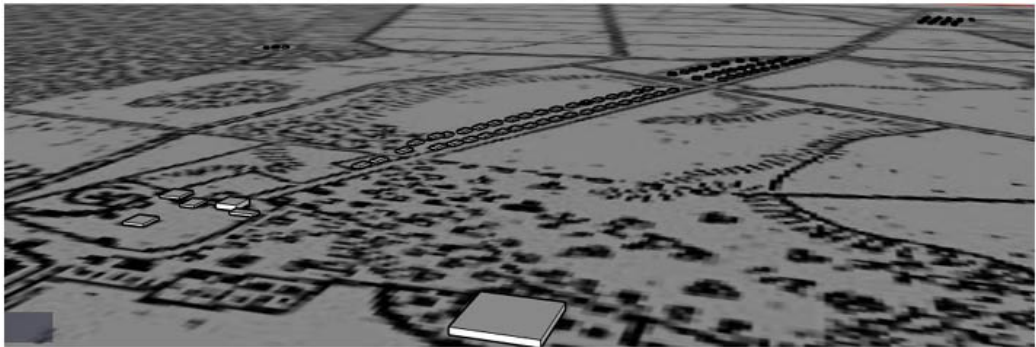
7 Visible (Any percentage of a strucutre)  
35%

7 Visible (At least one full face)  
35%

6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)  
30%

Figure B-27

Plantation Name: Jehossee Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 98  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 700  
OVERVIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 96  
\*From Plantation House

36 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	36 Visible (At least one full face)	8 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
37.5%	37.5%	8.33%

Figure B-28

Plantation Name: Jehossee Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 98  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 700  
OVERVIEW

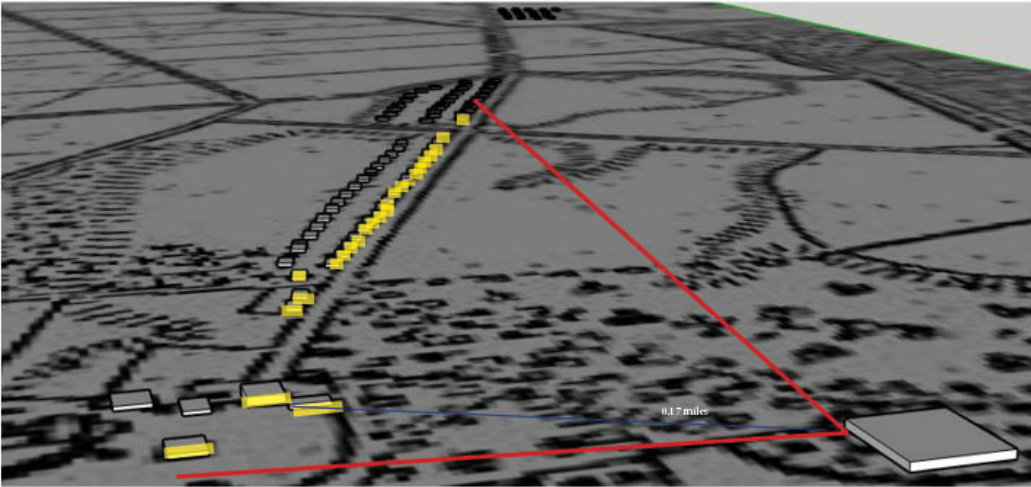
Key:

X

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/oveseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 96		
*From Plantation House		
36 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	36 Visible (At least one full face)	8 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
37.5%	37.5%	8.33%

Figure B-29

Plantation Name: Jehossee Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 98  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 700  
OVERVIEW

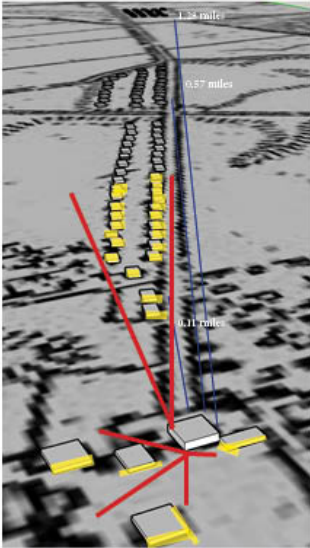
Key:

X

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

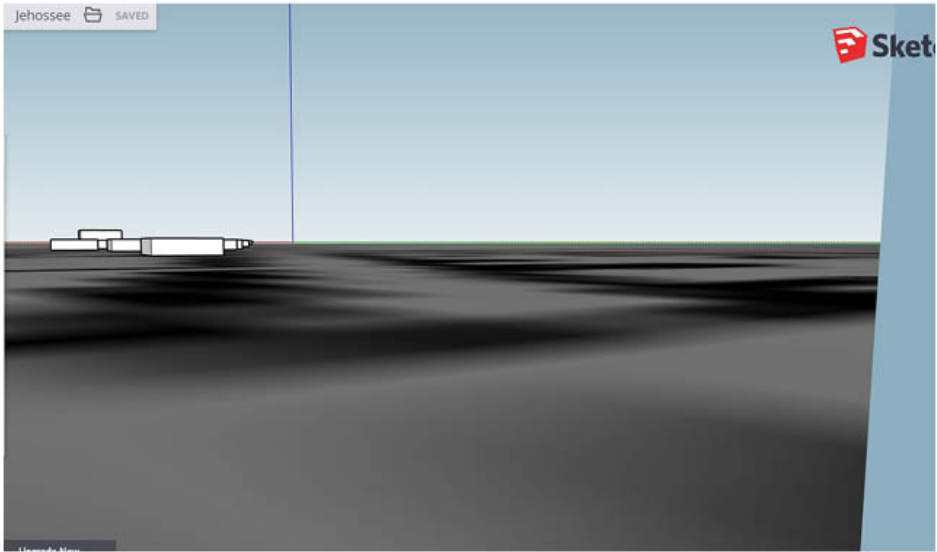
Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 96		
*From Overseer's House		
23 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	10 Visible (At least one full face)	8 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
23.96%	10.41%	8.33%

Figure B-30

Plantation Name: Jehossee Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 98  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 700  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 96  
\*From Overseer's House

23 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	10 Visible (At least one full face)	8 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
23.96%	10.41%	8.33%

Figure B-31



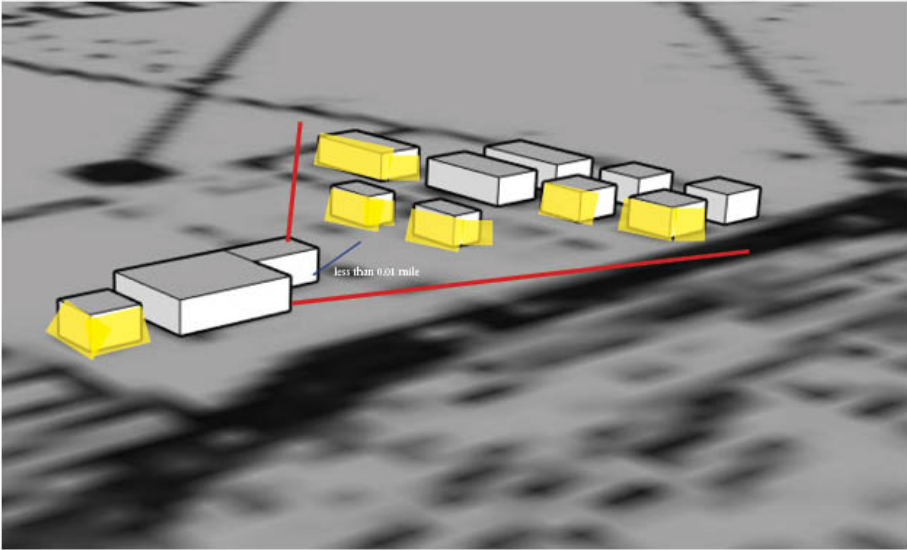
Plantation Name: Lewisburg Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 11  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 105  
Year of Plat: 1800  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings: 11		
*From Driver/Watchman		
6 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	5 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
54.54%	45.45%	45.45%

Figure B-32

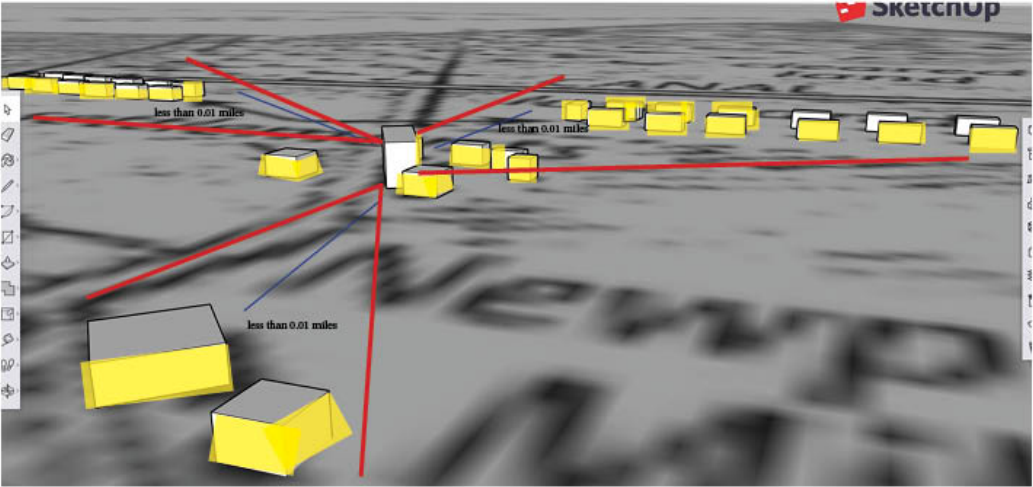
Plantation Name: Newport Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 35  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 224  
Year of Plat: 1837  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

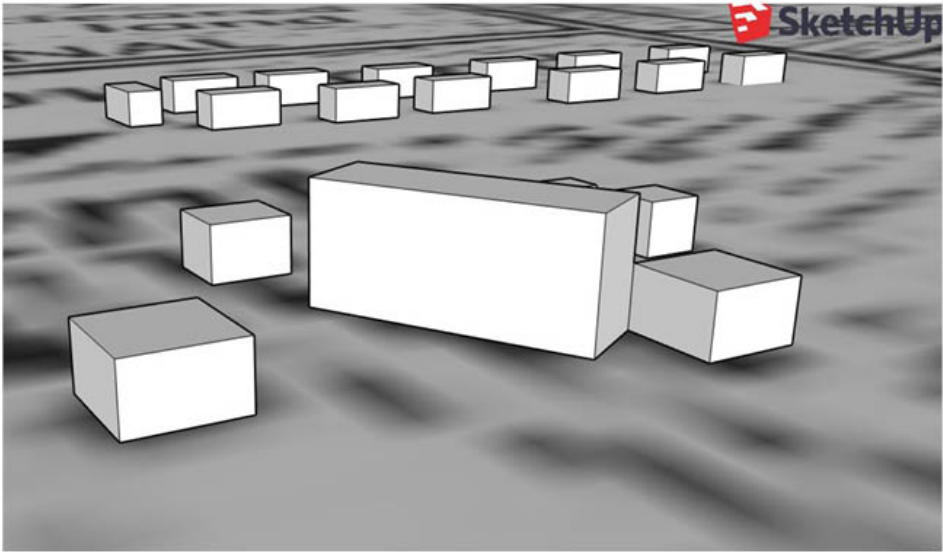
Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 34		
25 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	20 Visible (At least one full face)	17 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
73.53%	58.82%	50%

Figure B-33

Plantation Name: Newport Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 35  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 224  
Year of Plat: 1837  
OVERVIEW

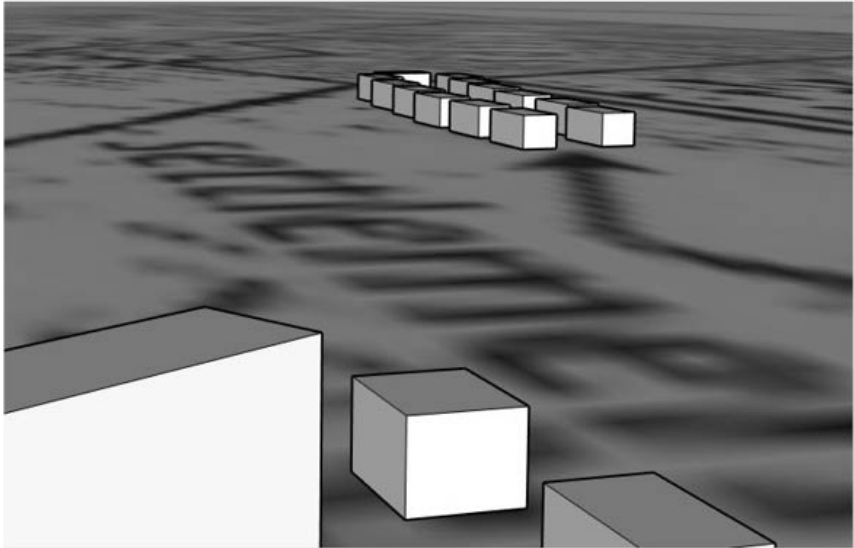


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 34

25 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	20 Visible (At least one full face)	17 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
73.53%	58.82%	50%

Figure B-34

Plantation Name: Newport Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 35  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 224  
Year of Plat: 1837  
OVERVIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 34

25 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)  
73.53%

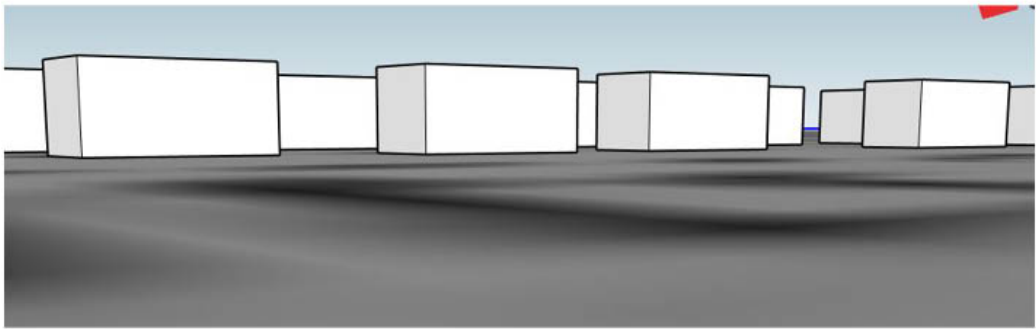
20 Visible (At least one full face)  
58.82%

17 Visible (At least 2 full faces)  
50%

Figure B-35

Plantation Name: Newport Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 35  
Number of Enslaved Workers:  
Year of Plat: 1837  
OVERVIEW OR 6 FOOT VIEW

Key  
COLOR SQUARE Represents visibility from planter/oveseer house  
RED LINES Represent outer edges of visibilty/viewshed



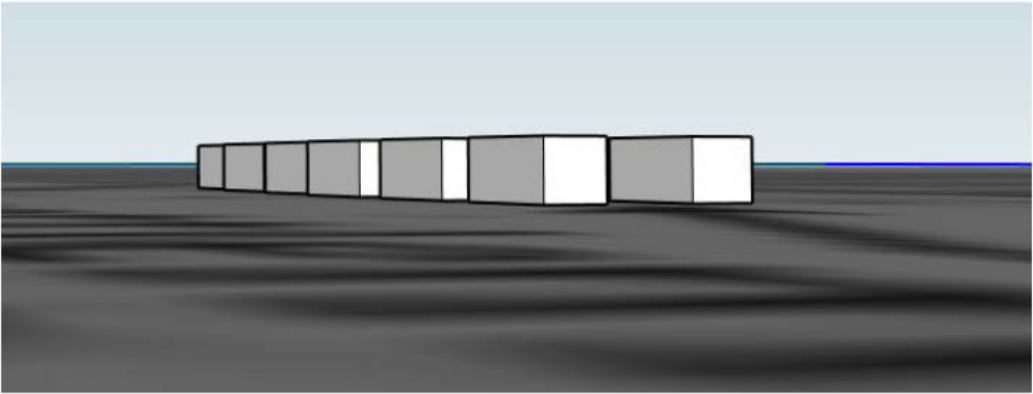
Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 34

25 Visible (Any percentage of a strucutre)	20 Visible (At least one full face)	17 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
73.53%	58.82%	50%

Figure B-36

Plantation Name: Newport Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 35  
Number of Enslaved Workers:  
Year of Plat: 1837  
OVERVIEW OR 6 FOOT VIEW

Key  
COLOR SQUARE Represents visibility from planter/oveseer house  
RED LINES Represent outer edges of visibilty/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 34

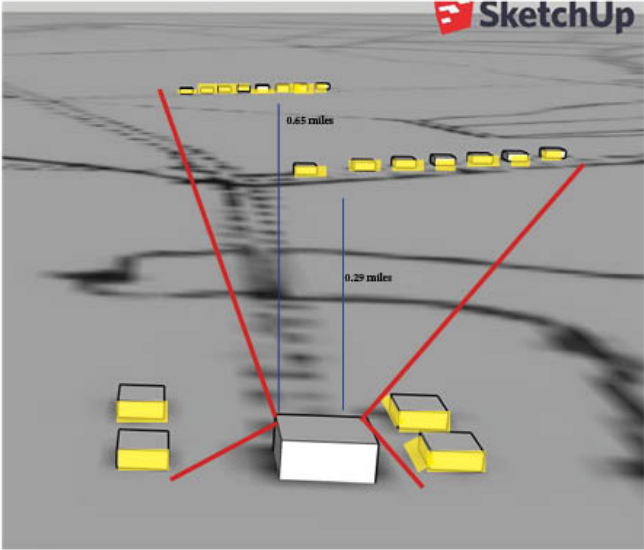
25 Visible (Any percentage of a strucutre)	20 Visible (At least one full face)	17 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
73.53%	58.82%	50%

Figure B-37

Plantation Name: Newton and Pringle Field  
Number of Structures Identified: 20  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 147  
Year of Plat: 1829  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

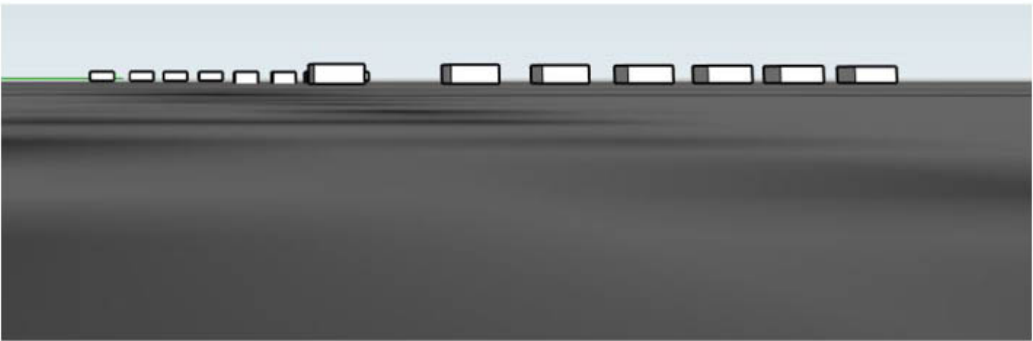
Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 19

19 Visible (Any percentage of a structure) 100%	18 Visible (At least one full face) 94.74%	11 Visible (At least 2 full faces) 57.89%
--	---	--

Figure B-38

Plantation Name: Newton and Pringle Field  
Number of Structures Identified: 20  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 147  
Year of Plat: 1829  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 19

17 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	17 Visible (At least one full face)	11 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
89.47%	89.47%	57.89%

Figure B-39



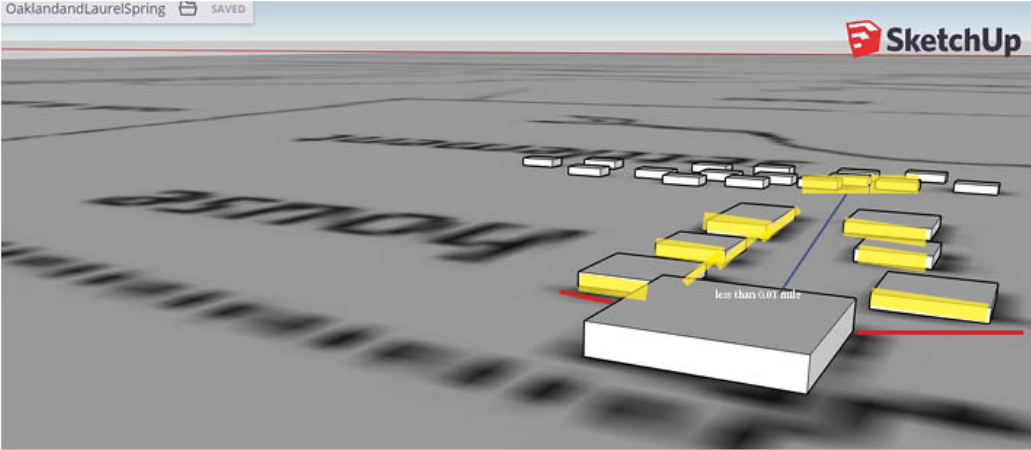
Plantation Name: Oakland and Laurel Spring  
Number of Structures Identified: 23  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 45  
Year of Plat: 1813  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed

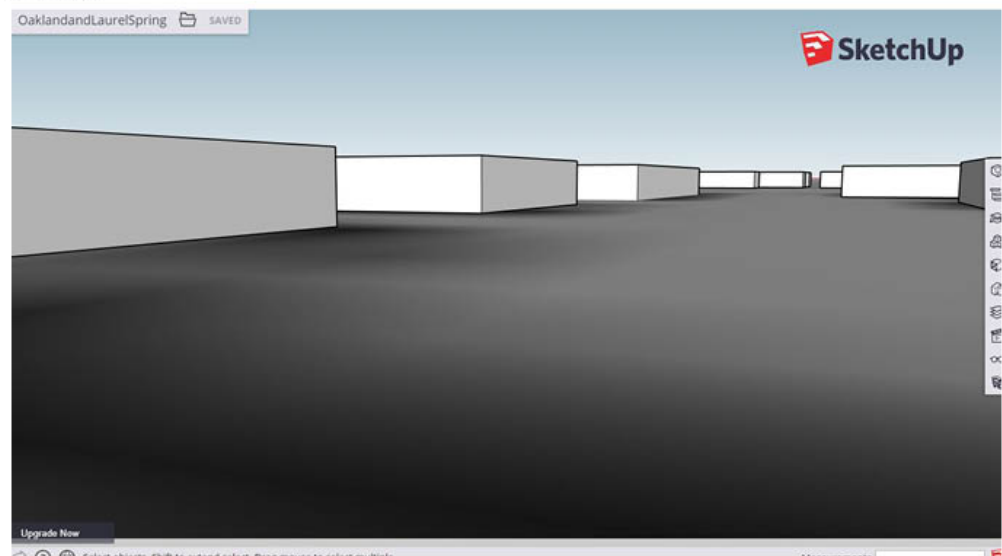


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 22

9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	8 Visible (At least one full face)	7 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
40.91%	36.36%	31.82%

Figure B-40

Plantation Name: Oakland and Laurel Spring  
Number of Structures Identified: 23  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 45  
Year of Plat: 1813  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 22

9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	8 Visible (At least one full face)	7 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
40.91%	36.36%	31.82%

Figure B-41

Plantation Name: Poco Sabo  
Number of Structures Identified: 8  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 16  
Year of Plat: 1837  
OVERVIEW

Key:

X

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/oveseer house

Represents outer edges of visibilty/viewshed

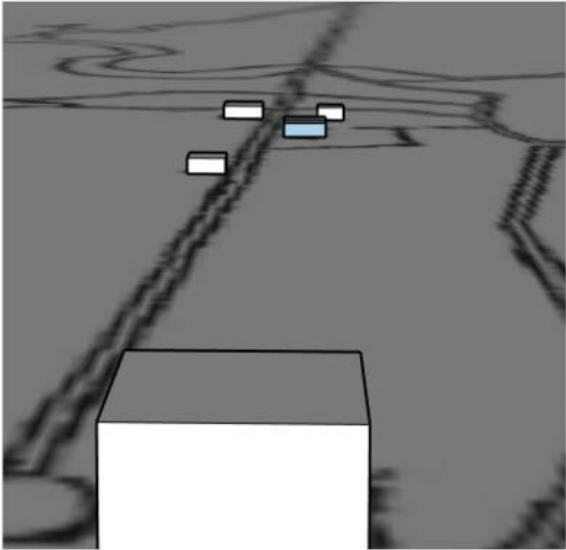


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 7

6 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	4 Visible (At least one full face)	3 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
85.71%	57.14%	42.86%

Figure B-42

Plantation Name: Poco Sabo  
Number of Structures Identified: 8  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 16  
Year of Plat: 1837  
OVERVIEW

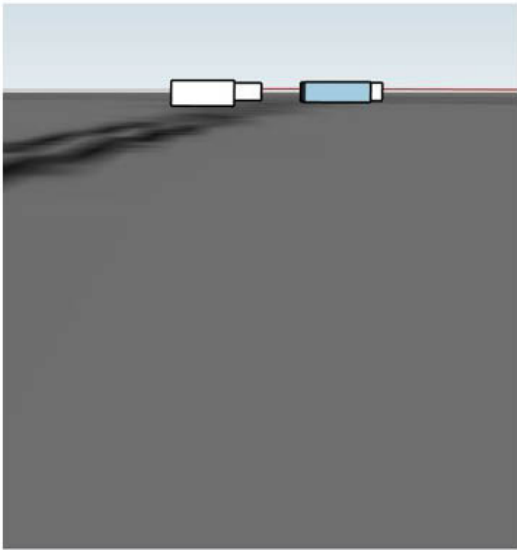


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 7

6 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	4 Visible (At least one full face)	3 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
85.71%	57.14%	42.86%

Figure B-43

Plantation Name: Poco Sabo  
Number of Structures Identified: 8  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 16  
Year of Plat: 1837  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 7

6 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	4 Visible (At least one full face)	3 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
85.71%	57.14%	42.86%

Figure B-44

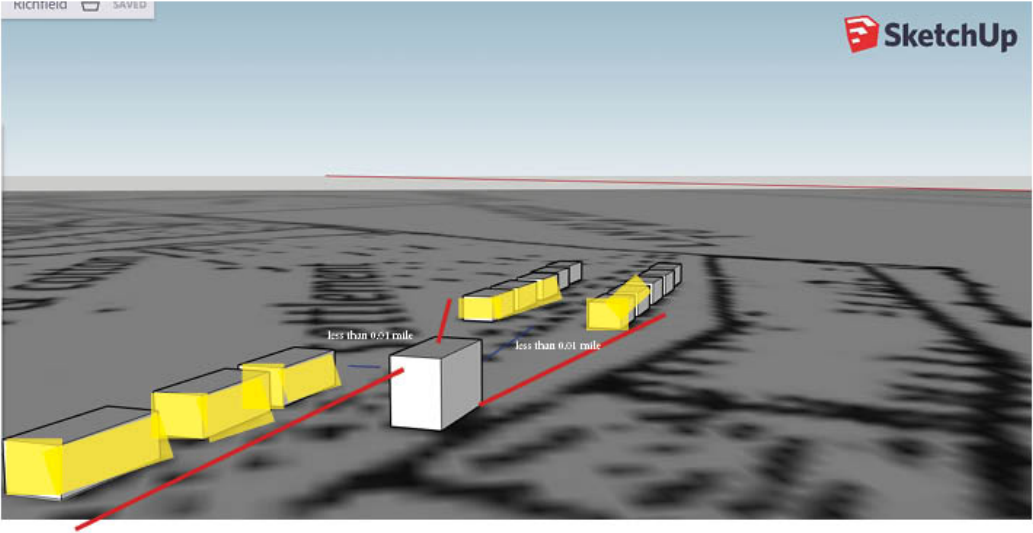
Plantation Name: Richfield Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 14  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 19  
Year of Plat: 1802  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed

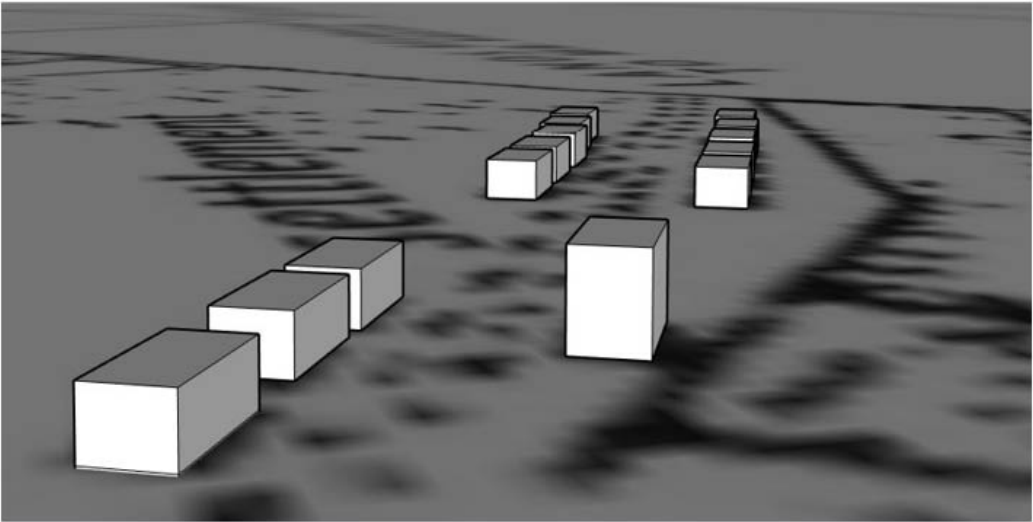


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 13

9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
69.23%	69.23%	38.46%

Figure B-45

Plantation Name: Richfield Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 14  
Number of Enslaved Workers:  
Year of Plat: 1802  
OVERVIEW

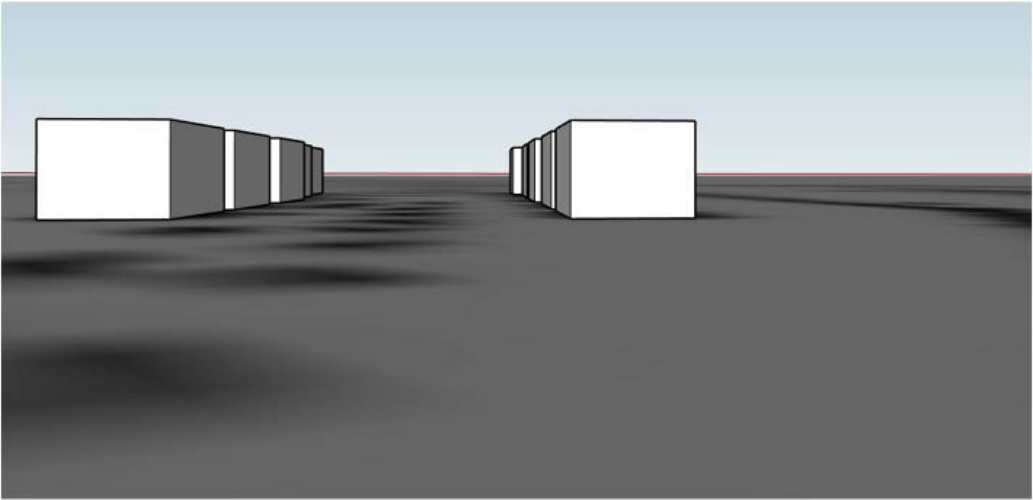


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 13

9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
69.23%	69.23%	38.46%

Figure B-46

Plantation Name: Richfield Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 14  
Number of Enslaved Workers:  
Year of Plat: 1802  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 13

9 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)  
69.23%

9 Visible (At least one full face)  
69.23%

5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)  
38.46%

Figure B-47



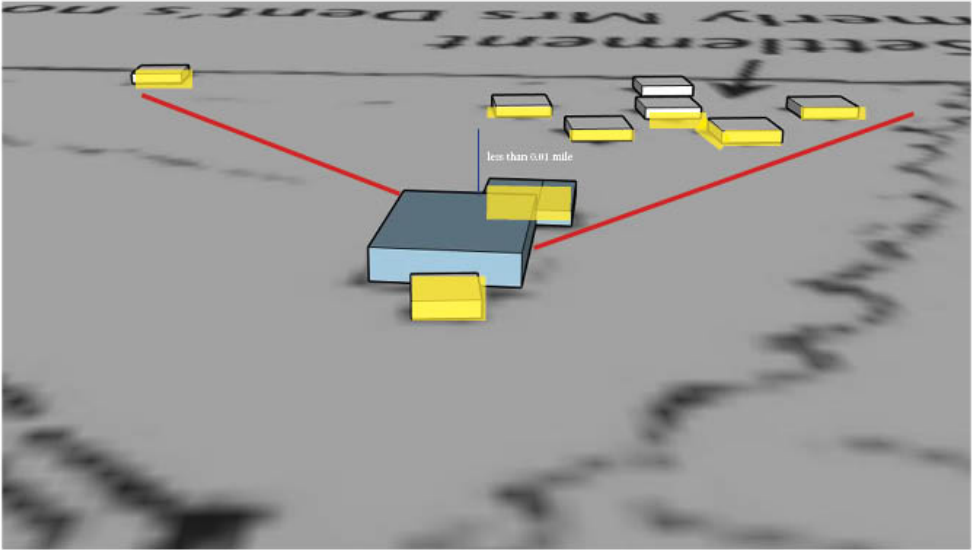
Plantation Name: Shrubbery Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 10  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 86  
Year of Plat: 1846 (1908)  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/overseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed

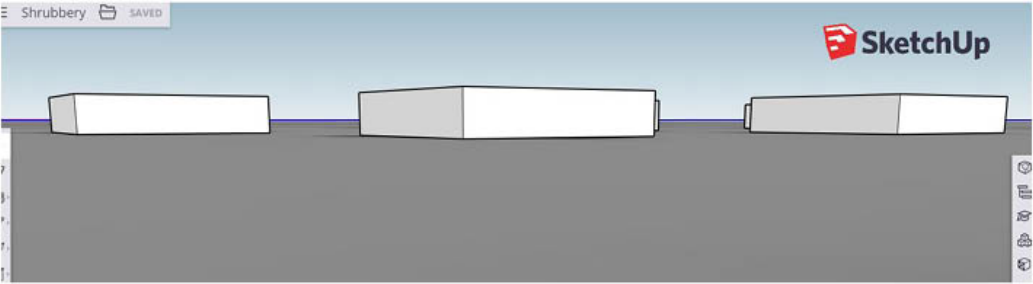


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 9

8 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	7 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
88.89%	77.78%	55.56%

Figure B-47

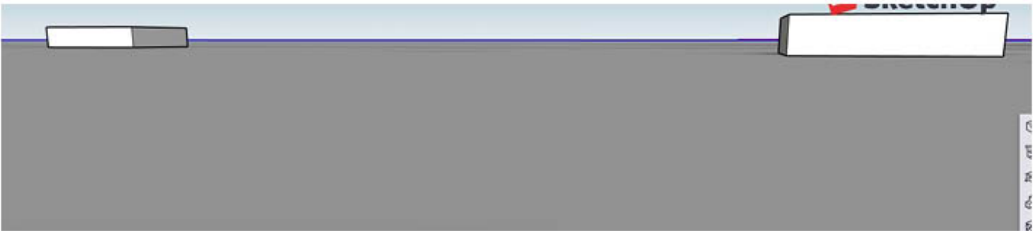
Plantation Name: Shrubbery Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 10  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 86  
Year of Plat: 1846 (1908)  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 9		
8 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	7 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
88.89%	77.78%	55.56%

Figure B-47

Plantation Name: Shrubbery Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 10  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 86  
Year of Plat: 1846 (1908)  
6 FOOT VIEW



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 9		
8 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	7 Visible (At least one full face)	5 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
88.89%	77.78%	55.56%

Figure B-48

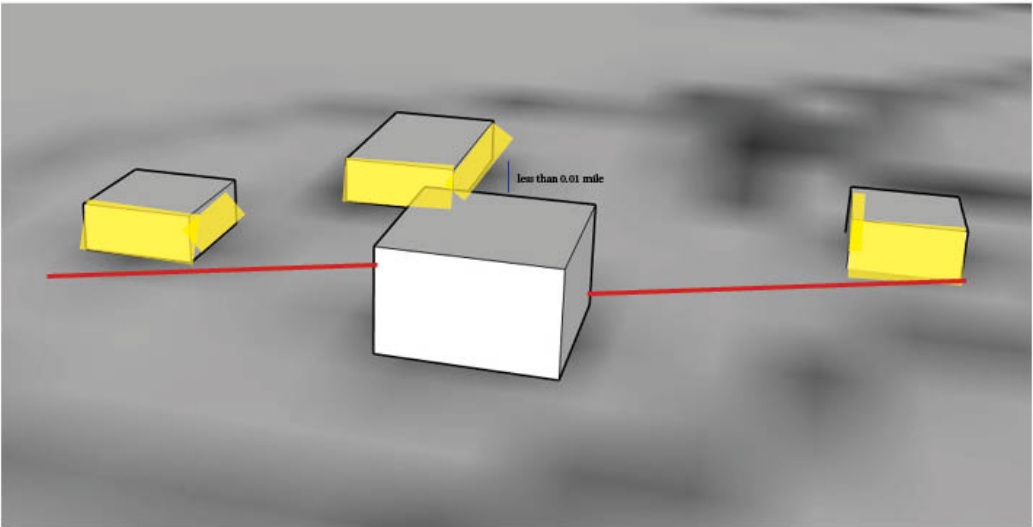
Plantation Name: Slann's Island Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 4  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 110  
Year of Plat: 1800  
OVERVIEW

Key:

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/oveseer house

Represents outer edges of visibilty/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 3

3 Visible (Any percentage of a strucutre)	3 Visible (At least one full face)	3 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
100%	100%	100%

Figure B-49

Plantation Name: Twickenham Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 19  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 120  
Year of Plat: 1820  
OVERVIEW

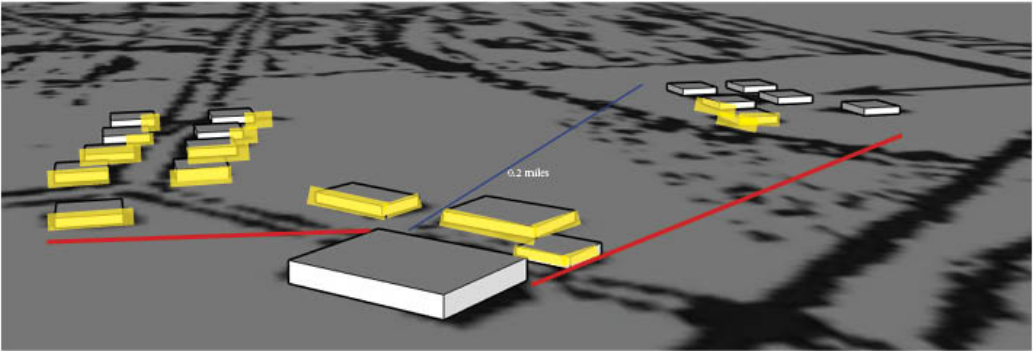
Key:

X

Represents distance in miles from house to settlement

Represents visible from planter/oveseer house

Represents outer edges of visibility/viewshed



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 18

14 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
77.78%	50%	33.33%

Figure B-50

Plantation Name: Twickenham Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 19  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 120  
Year of Plat: 1820  
6 FOOT VIEW (RIGHT OF STRUCTURE)

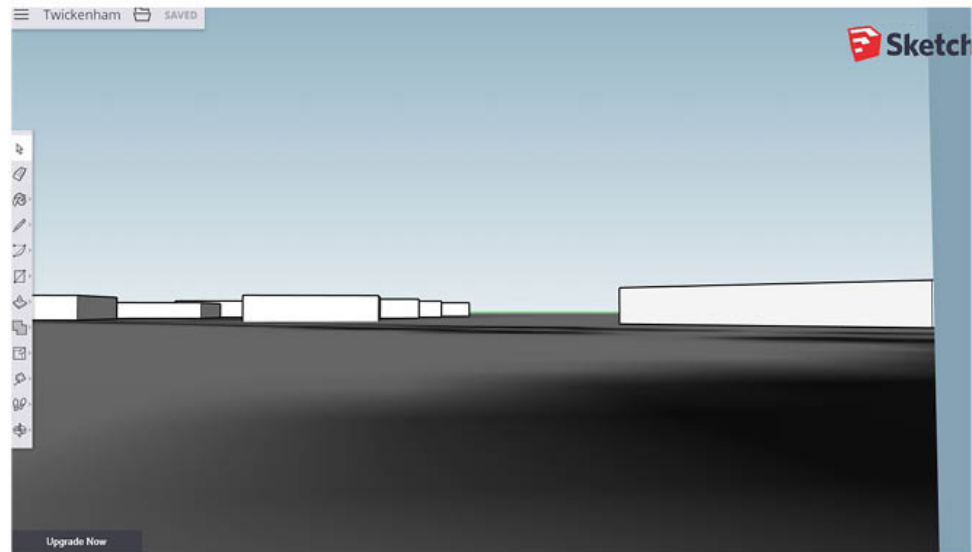


Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 18

14 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)	9 Visible (At least one full face)	6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)
77.78%	50%	33.33%

Figure B-51

Plantation Name: Twickenham Plantation  
Number of Structures Identified: 19  
Number of Enslaved Workers: 120  
Year of Plat: 1820  
6 FOOT VIEW (LEFT OF STRUCTURE)



Number of Enslaved Worker Dwellings/Outbuildings: 18

14 Visible (Any percentage of a structure)  
77.78%

9 Visible (At least one full face)  
50%

6 Visible (At least 2 full faces)  
33.33%

Figure B-52

## Appendix C

### Research Spreadsheets

Plantation	County	Planter	Date Constructed	Date of Plat	Number of Ensl	Acreage of plan	Number of Struct
Ary Hall	Colleton	Philip Smith Price	1840s	1849	17	3221	
Bairings and Beehive	Charleston	Charles Baring	1830s	1850	140	4,544 (1600 under cultivation)	
Blandford	Beaufort	Nathaniel Heyward	1800s	1837	231	4000, 12,000 uncultivated ( <a href="https://www.ancestryheritages.com">https://www.ancestryheritages.com</a> )	
Bonny Hall	Beaufort	Joseph Blake (Walter Blake managed)	1837	1837	620	3330	
Cattell Island	Colleton	William Catell (sold to Christopher Jenkins)	1800s	1851	100	3380	
Chickese/Butler's Island	Colleton	VanderHorst		1830	211	2440	
Green Point	Beaufort	Nathaniel Heyward		1824	231	462 acres of rice land under bank	4
Hermitage	Charleston	John Ashe (to some John S. Ashe) and then to William Westcott		1851	50	410 in 1851	
Hope	Colleton	Lewis Morris and family	1800	1850	107	2200	300+
Jehossee	Charleston	Drayton until 1824; William Alken owned 3/4	Post 1833	1856	700	1500	100+
Lewisburg	Colleton	Charles Heyward	n/a	1800	105	900 <a href="https://www.ancestryheritages.com">https://www.ancestryheritages.com</a>	
Newport	Beaufort	Henry Middleton	pre 1837	1837	224	1200 <a href="https://www.ancestryheritages.com">https://www.ancestryheritages.com</a>	
Newton and Pringle Field	Colleton	H. John McPherson left it to his children Ann and Susan in 1806		1828	147	1092	
Oakland and Laurel Springs	Colleton	Edward Lynch-Laurel Spring; Charles Lowndes-Oakland		1813	45	Laurel Spring-2488; Oakland- 4200	
Poco Sabo	Colleton	Edmund Cussings Bellinger to the Lining fan	1800	1837	16	1700	
Twickenham	Beaufort	James Reid Pringle	1700s	1820	120-127	1077	
Slant's Island	Charleston	Captain William Seabrook		1800	110	375	
Shrubbery	Colleton	William Godfrey		1846 (copied in 1850)	86	1529	
Richfield	Beaufort	Nathaniel Heyward	1700s	1802	19	2178	
					1860 slave schedule census or atlas		

Figure C-1: Research collection spreadsheet on plantation history and information.



Plantation Name	Acres	Number of Endowed V-Shares	Structure	Endowed	Number of V-Shares	% V-Shares	(Original Shares)	Surface	(2 Full Faces)	% V-Shares	Distance from House to Dwellings (m)	
Key Hill	3221	17	30	29	21	75.41	13	44.30	9	31.30		
Barings and Benne	4544	5	5	4	3	75	3	75	2	50	0.95	
Barford	4009	231	25	24	11	45.09	5	20.89	3	12.5	2.8	
Peascoe Hill			9	8	7	87.5	6	75	4	67.5	less than 0.01	
Donner Hill			15	15	9	60	7	45.87	5	40	less than 0.01	
Donner Hill	3339	620	11	10	8	80	8	80	5	50	less than 0.01	
Collet Island	1479	100	32	32	21	83.82	19	59.20	12	43.82	0.018	
Chickadee/Buck Island	2449	211	39	28	14	48.28	11	37.83	19	34.48	less than 0.01	
Green Point	508	231	10	9	9	100	9	100	6	88.87	less than 0.01	
Hemfage	419	50	17	15	11	58.75	9	55.25	5	37.5	less than 0.01	
Hoge	2220	137	21	20	7	25	7	25	8	20		
Shooshee	1500	700	69	65	36	37.5	36	37.5	8	3.33	House to Overseer 0.17	0.57
Lewisburg	500	135	11	11	6	54.54	5	45.45	5	45.45	less than 0.01	0.15
Newport	1200	224	35	34	25	73.53	20	58.82	17	50	less than 0.01	
Oakland and Laurel Springs	1032	147	20	19	19	100	18	94.74	11	57.89	0.29	0.95
Puro Salo	3005	45	23	22	9	40.91	8	35.36	7	31.32	less than 0.01	
Rhifek	1700	18	9	7	6	85.71	4	57.14	3	42.86		0.03
Shubany	2179	19	14	13	9	88.22	9	89.23	5	39.46	less than 0.01	
Saints Bend	1529	86	10	9	8	88.89	7	77.78	5	55.56	less than 0.01	
Tuckersham	1225	110	4	3	3	100	3	100	3	100	less than 0.01	
	1027	120	19	18	14	77.78	9	50	6	33.33	0.2	

Figure C-2: Data Analysis spreadsheet, sorted alphabetically by plantation name.

Hermitage	413	50	17	16	11	68.75	8	58.25	6	37.5	less than 0.01		
Charr's Island	725	110	4	3	3	100	3	100	3	100	less than 0.01		
Lewisville	503	135	11	11	6	54.54	5	45.45	5	45.45	less than 0.01		
Green Point	509 288 or 251 or 138		10	9	9	100	9	100	8	88.87	less than 0.01		
Pocahontas	1077	170	18	18	14	77.78	8	90	6	33.33		0.2	
Newton and Pigea Fork	1092	147	20	19	19	100	10	94.74	11	57.38		0.29	0.35
Newport	1209	224	35	34	25	73.53	20	58.82	17	50	less than 0.01		
Collet Island	1479	100	22	22	21	95.03	19	59.26	13	43.82		0.018	
Seneca	1503	98	98	98	36	37.5	36	37.5	8	8.33	less than 0.01		
Shenandoah	1629	98	10	9	8	88.89	7	77.78	5	55.56	less than 0.01		
Pogo Slick	1709	16	8	7	6	85.71	4	57.14	3	42.86		0.03	
Richfield	2179	19	14	13	9	89.23	9	59.23	5	23.48	less than 0.01		
Rock	2209	107	21	20	7	35	7	35	5	30		0.08	
Chickens/Glades Island	2449	211	20	20	14	48.28	11	27.93	10	24.48	less than 0.01		
Clabert and Lami Swags	2035	45	23	22	9	40.91	8	35.36	7	31.82	less than 0.01		
Sw Hall	2221	17	20	20	21	72.41	13	44.83	8	31.83		0.39	
Shady Hill	2335	620	11	10	0	0	0	0	5	50	less than 0.01		
Barreterd	4009 288 or 251 or 138		25	24	11	45.45	5	20.93	3	12.5		0.22	
Barreterd and Saddle	4541	140	5	4	3	75	3	75	2	50		2.9	
Mountain House		structures	derelict		Number Visible	% Visible	(One full face)	(2 full faces)			Distance from House to Overdrags (m)		
Pocahontas Hill	Number of Individual Visitors	13	8	8	7	87.5	6	75	5	62.5	less than 0.01		
Shady Hill	Number of Individual Visitors	13	13	13	8	61.5	7	46.67	6	46.67	less than 0.01		

Figure C-3: Data Analysis spreadsheet, sorted by acreage.



Parish Name	Acres	Number of Endowed Volunte	Structures	Endowed	Buried	Number of Buried	% Visible	Gravestones	Surface	(2) Failures	% Visible	Distance from House to Dwellings (m)		
Ay Hall	3221	17	17	20	29	21	72.43	13	44.03	9	31.33			
Barnard and Smeke	4,444	140	140	5	4	3	15	3	75	2	50			0.95
Barnford	4000	398 or 231 or 138	25	25	24	11	45.03	5	20.03	3	12.5	50		2.8
Berry Hall	3530	670	670	11	10	8	80	8	80	5	50	less than 0.01		0.02
Dunry Hill	part of Dunry Hill			15	15	8	53	7	43.37	5	40	less than 0.01		
Passants Hill	part of Barry Hill			9	8	7	87.5	6	75	5	52.5	less than 0.01		
Collet Island	1470	100	100	22	22	21	93.63	19	53.36	13	43.33			0.018
Chickadee Butte Island	2440	211	211	30	29	14	48.28	11	37.83	10	34.48	less than 0.01		
Green Point	5038	398 or 231 or 138	10	10	9	9	100	9	100	8	88.89	less than 0.01		
Hemfage	410	50	50	17	15	11	58.75	8	55.25	6	37.5	less than 0.01		
Hoge	2200	107	107	21	20	7	35	7	35	8	30		0.15	
Shelasse	1500	700	700	69	66	36	37.5	36	37.5	8	33.3	House in Overseer 0.17	0.57	1.22
Lewisburg	500	135	135	11	11	8	54.54	5	45.45	5	45.45	less than 0.01		
Newport	1700	224	224	35	34	25	73.53	20	58.82	17	50	less than 0.01		
Newton and Pierce Farm	1092	147	147	20	19	10	100	18	94.74	11	57.89		0.95	
Oakland and Laurel Springs	3095	45	45	23	22	9	40.91	8	36.36	7	31.82	less than 0.01		0.29
Pavo Saco	1700	18	18	9	7	8	95.71	4	57.14	3	42.86			0.07
Ridgely	2170	19	19	14	13	9	89.23	9	93.23	5	55.56	less than 0.01		
Shalobay	1620	86	86	10	9	8	88.89	7	77.78	5	55.56	less than 0.01		
Saints Bird	725	110	110	4	3	3	100	3	100	3	100	less than 0.01		
Tuckersham	1027	120	120	19	18	14	77.78	9	56	6	33.33			0.2

Figure C-5: Data Analysis spreadsheet, sorted by number of structures on the plantation.

Plantation	Date of Plat	Number of Enslaved Structures	Number Visible	% Visible (One full face)	Number Visible (One full face)	% Visible (One full face)	Number Visible (2 Full faces)	Distance from House to Dwellings (mi)	Settlement Hidden behind Main House or Displayed along Main Road	Orientation to Street
Lewisburg	1800	11	6	54.54	5	45.45	5	45.45 less than 0.01	Displayed	Square
Slatt's Island	1800	3	3	100	3	100	3	100 less than 0.01	Displayed	Scattered/Irregular
Richfield	1802	13	9	69.23	9	69.23	5	38.46 less than 0.01	Displayed	Square
Oakland and Laurel Springs	1813	22	9	40.91	8	36.36	7	31.82 less than 0.01	Hidden	Square/Scattered
Twickenham	1820	18	14	77.78	9	50	6	33.33	0.2	Angle
Green Point	1824	9	9	100	9	100	6	66.67 less than 0.01	Displayed	Angle
Newton and Pringle Field	1829	19	19	100	18	94.74	11	57.89	0.29	Angle
Chicksee/Butler's Island	1830	29	14	48.28	11	37.93	10	34.48 less than 0.01	Displayed	Angle
Blandford	1837	24	11	45.83	5	20.83	3	12.5	0.02	Angle
Newport	1837	34	25	73.53	20	58.82	17	50 less than 0.01	Hidden	Square/Scattered
Poco Sabo	1837	7	6	85.71	4	57.14	3	42.86	0.03	Square
Shrubbery	1846	9	8	88.89	7	77.78	5	55.56 less than 0.01	Hidden	Angle
Airy Hall	1849	29	21	72.41	13	44.83	9	31.03	0.05	Angle
Barings and Beehive	1850	4	3	75	3	75	2	50	2.8	Angle
Hope	1850	20	7	35	7	35	6	30	0.08	Square
Cattell Island	1851	32	21	63.63	19	59.38	13	40.63	0.016	Square
Hermitage	1851	16	11	68.75	9	56.25	6	37.5 less than 0.01	Hidden	Square
Jehossee	1856	96	36	37.5	36	37.5	8	8.33 House to Overseer. 0.17	Displayed	Square
Bonny Hall	1867	10	8	80	8	80	5	50 less than 0.01	Displayed	Square

Figure C-6: Data Analysis spreadsheet, sorted by date of plat in relation to the patterns that emerged for each configuration.

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